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La Nouë

*T*hus haue you a superficiall survey of this Country and People of France, of whom we may conclude with *La Nouë*. *Plus de la moitié de la Noblesse est perie, le peuple di-
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I make no doubt, but to these slender obseruations, you wil after adde better of your own Collection, vsing this onely as the patterne of a method, how to discourse of the Cosmography, Politie and Oeconomy of such other Countries wherein you shall trauaile.

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F I N I S.

THE SURVEY OF THE great Dukes State of *Tuscany.*

Sir Robert Gallington



Tuscany, anciently called *Hebruria*, lieth vnder the Regiment of *Sol*, in the fifth Climate, betweene the Degrees fortie one, and fortie foure: a Countrey almost equally distant from the Equinoctiall and North-pole, and therefore by consequent of an ayre temperate, were it not that the Mountaines cause some little exesse of both the passible qualities, heate and colde. Of this in winter, by reason they bee mantled with snowe, whereby the winde vieth with a more piercing sharpnesse: of that in sommer, by the repercussive force of the Sun-beames from the sides of those Hilles, at the foot whercof are most of their Citties seated. Not hauing any valleyes so large, but that the situation of the Towne therein makes it communicate in the passion of both these extreames. For as writers well affirme, that the Hilles *Appennines* are one fourth part of *Italy*: so is it also determined that they and their Spurres, are three fourth parts of *Tuscany*.

It is in length, if you measure along the Sea-coast, two thousand five hundred furlonges, which make three hundred and twelue myles: but if you measure by the *Diameter*, according to *Ptolomey*, assigning it three Degrees, and forty seauen miles to a Degree, then it is some hundred fortie and odde miles: if according as the ordinarie Roade lies, which is neither so much about as by the coast, nor so direct as by the *Diameter*, it is one hundred and seauenty miles. And thus doth *Leander Alberti* the latest and exactest Surueyour of *Italie* reconcile the authorities of *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolomey*. But allowing sixtie miles to a Degree, it is in length one hundred and ninetie miles, which is now the receaued opinion.

It is in breadth, one hundred where least, and in Circuite six hundred breadth.

B

The

hundred breadth.

hundred and twentie, or as *faccio Vberei* saith, seuen hundred

*Il giro suo per quel che siragiona,
E misurato settecento miglia,
E Roma qui, l'honôr che l'incorona.*

The limits

It is limited, West, with the Riuer *Magra* and Mountaines of *Lyguria*, East, with *Tyber*: North with the Mountaines *Apennines*, and South with the Sea.

The confines

It confineth South with the *Terra di Roma*, South-east with the Dutchie of *Spoletto*, East with the State of *Vrbine*, North-east with *Romagna*, North with the State of *Bologna*, North-west with *Lyguria*, West and South-west with the Sea.

The antiquitie.

These are the limits set downe by *Polybius*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius*, *Mela*, *Solynus*, *Ptolemei*, and all other ancient writers: neither are we to enlarge this Countrey so farre, as they that affirme the *Tuscans* possessed all betwene the *Adriaticke* and *Mediterranean* Seas, from *Nola* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, to the Mountaines *Rhetij*, which is now the *Grisons* Countrey, and they say are come of the olde *Tuscans*. True it is that these *Tuscans* were a mightie and powerfull people, such as oftentimes forced the *Romaines* to create a Dictator (which but in great extremities they might not doe) to defend themselves from them: vntill the foure hundred and seauenth yeare after the foundation of *Rome*, when they were vtterly ouerthrowne at the Lake of *Vadimone*, as *Linie* in his ninth Booke affirmeth. Nor did the *Romaines* bring home onely glorie, triumph and spoiles, from the conquered *Tuscans*, which argued the greatnesse of this Nation: but they brought with them also (which argueth their antiquitie) the habite of their youth, called *Pratexta*, the roabe of their elder age called *Toga*, the twelue Bundles of Roddes and *Axes* carried before the Consuls, called *Fasces*: the seate of their *Prators* and other Iudges carried vpon wheelles, called *Sedes curulis*, the Robe of the chiefe Magistrate, triumphall ornaments, and many other such ensignes of ancient greatnesse and Maiestie; all which were brought thence to *Rome* by *Tarquinius Priscus*: whereof *Syluius Italicus* in his eighth Booke reporteth, confirmed by *Dionysius Alicarnassens*. From this Nation likewise whom the *Greekes* called *Tirrhens* of *Tirso* their poore kinde

kind of *Cottage*, and the *Romaines* first called *Hetrusci*, of their religious worshipping the Gods, did the *Romaines* also bring many of those rites and ceremonies, which they afterward vsed in their Religion.

As *Delphos* is called by *Ptolemy Vmbilicus Mundi*, the Navel of the World, so may wee say of *Tuscanie*, that it is *Vmbilicus Italie*: howbeit in a Geometricall proportion, that is, in the midst of the forces of *Italie*: hauing on the one side the *State Ecclesiastike*, the Kingdome of *Naples*, and Dutchie of *Vrbyne*: and on the other counter-peasable to these, the Sates of *Venice*, *Myllan*, and *Genoa*, the Dukedomes of *Ferrara*, *Mantouia*, and *Parma*, and this State in the midst of the ballance, on which side soeuer it inclineth, ouerweighing the other.

This is that which *Guiccardine* saith in the very entrance of his Historie, that the wisdom of *Lorenzo Medici*, and the situation of the State of *Florence*, *Mantenero le cose d'Italia bilanciate*, vpheld the affaires of *Italie*, in equall Ballance. On which ground also *Lodouico Zforza* Duke of *Millan* laith his foundation, for the reason he vseth in the third Book of the said Historie: who verie ialous of the *Venetians* greatnesse, hauing now vndertaken the protection of *Pisa*, and feareful withall of the *Frenches* returne into *Italy*: hee laboureth the Pope and King of *Aragon*, to enter into a confederation with the *Florentines*, and to re-inuest them of *Pisa*, inferring, that by this meanes the *French* forces might be diuerted, which otherwise with the helpe of this Sate (being seated in the midst of *Italie*) might effect matters of preiudicial consequent to all three: so fitly stands it either to disperse the enemies forces, or to re-inforce their owne. And therefore *Guiccardine* verie iudicially determineth, that it was a powerfull estate, rather *per l'opportunità del sito, che per la grandezza del Dominio*, by the fitnessse of the situation, then by the greatnesse of the Dominion.

But if wee define the midst of *Italie* in an Arithmetical proportion, that is, the center equally distant from both extreames, it will appeare to be true with *Plinie* and *Varro* report, confirmed also by *Leander Alberti*, concerning *Lago di piè del luco*, which *Tacitus* in his first Booke calleth *Lacus velinus*. in

The Ri-
uers.

Sabina which they hold to be the middest of *Italie*.

Concerning the Riuers of worth there be few, of name manie: for the *Italian* hath a name for euery ditch, whereof if wee allow them not *Tiber*, *Arno* is their chiefe: This Riuer was so named by *Hercules Lybicus*, whose surnames were *Libarno*, that is, the Lyon of *Lybia*; and *Musarro* that is, the learned and valiant, for *Ar*, in the *Arabian* tongue signifies a Lyon. He was the sonne of *Osyris* and *Isis*, called *Iupiter* and *Iuno* by the Greekes, and grand-child of *Ianus* called by the Greekes *Ogyges*, and by the Chaldeans and Hebrews *Noah*: whereupon stand the Cities of *Florence*, and *Pisa*, *Serchio* which runneth by *Lucca* *Ombrone* by *Pistoia*, *Elisio* by *Prato*. *Chiana* which passeth by the vale of *Arezzo*, and falleth into the *Arno*: *Mognone* which runneth neere *Ciuita vecchia* into the Sea, *Fiora* which deuideth the great Dukes State and the Popes towards the *Tuscan* Sea & *Paglia* which deuides those two states towards the *Appennines*, ouer which we passe by a bridge built by *Gregory* the 13. in our iournie from *Florence* to *Rome* betweene *Rodicofany* and *Aquapendente* that, belonging to the great Duke: this to the Pope. True it is, that *Guicciardine* in the fourth Booke of his Historie and namely in that part of the Booke which by order of the inquisition is left out of all allowed copies, (because in this place, though himselfe were the Popes Creature, and had great charge vnder him,) yet he fully learnedly, and truly sheweth how by little and little, and by bad meanes the Church grew to her greatnesse, how she came not onely to quit her obedience to the Empire, but to haue also a power and stroke in the confirmation of the Emperour himselfe, not onely to make the Pope Governour of *Rome*, but to incroach also vpon the Territories and Cities of *Romagna*, the Marquisate of *Ancona*, the Dutchie of *Spoletum* and *Beneuentum*, the superiority ouer the Kingdome of *Naples* and the possession of that part of *Tuscanie* (now called the Patrimoine of *S. Peter*) hee I say, diuideth the Popes States in this Countrey from the rest of *Tuscany*, thus *E terminata dal torrent di Pescia & dal Castello di San Quirico nel Contado di Siena da vna banda: & dall'*

dali' altra dal Mare di sotto, & dal fimo di Tevere: that is: it is limited on the one side with the Riuer *Pescia*, and the Castell Saint *Quirick* in the territories of *Sienna*, and on the other, with the Riuer *Tyber*, and the *Tyrrhine* Sea. But I rather tie my selfe to the former limits, for that the *Paglia* is farre beyond Saint *Quirick*, whether the great Dukes state now reacheth. There is also *Cecina* which riseth a little aboue the Cittie of *Massa*, and so passing along the Countrey of *Volterra* fallerh into the Sea, with many such other, which in England we rather call Brookes or Riuerets; for of all these there are few fit either for burthen or Boate in Summer, except the *Arno*, yet heere often times scarce water for a Mill, as by their deuises at *Florence* to penne it vp appeareth. The reasons that the waters of this State are so small, be two: the former is, the violence of their downfall from the hils, the better is because their heads are so neare to the Sea, as they cannot haue space to be enlarged by the receipt of other lesser Brookes: by which meanes onely all Riuers grow great, as namely the *Rheine* and *Danowe*, whereof this last hath from his head, which is in the Forrest *Nera* to the *Mare Maggiore*, where he payeth his tribute aboue two thousand miles, and receaueth into his bed by the way threescore nauigable Riuers.

The Lakes in this State, are neither many nor great, nothing so faire or fruitfull as those of *Lombardy*, namely *Lago di Garda*, *Lago d'Isai*, *Lago d'Como*, and *Lago Maggiore*: the chiefe in *Tuscany* are these, *Lago di Trasimene* vnder the Pope, who letteth it out to diuers Farmers for ten thousand Duckets the yeare, which haue the fishing, whereof it is very fruitfull and yeeldeth them also no little gaine. The profit which the Duke of *Ferrara* raised by the Lake of *Comacchie*, who they say in *Venise* made thereof yearely foure-score thousand Duckets, makes this more probable. But this Lake of *Trasimene* now called *Lago di Perugia* is much more renowned for the notable ouerthrow given there by *Hanniball* to the *Romaines*, neare wherevnto is that faire plaine called *Ostia* of the bones of the dead there slaine by the rashnesse of *C. Flaminius* the Consul,

as *Polybins* in his third booke, *Livy* in his two and twentieth, and *Plutarche* in the life of *Haniball* auow. The other memorable blow giuen them (if it be not here impertinent to remember) was that at *Canne* in *Puglia*, called by *Livy* in his twentie and one booke *Cannussum*, where was slaine *P.Emilius*, the Consull *L. Acilius*, and *L. Furius Bibaculus* the Quæstors, one & twentie Tribunes of Souldiers, fourescore Senators, fortie thousand foote, two thousand and seauen hundred horse, all *Romaines*, and as many Auxiliaries, as *Plutarch* in the liues of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*, and *Solinus Italicus* in his ninth booke confesse: There are diuers Lakes betweene *Pisa* and *Linorne*, but small and of no name: There are more not farre from the Cittie *Colle*, *Lago di Bolsena*, called by ancient writers *Lacus Vulsiniensium*, *Lago di Bassanello* anciently called *Lacus Vademonius*, where the *Romaines* vtterly subdued the *Tuscans*, *Lago di Bracciane*, called formerly *Lacus Sabbatinus*: *Lago di Vico*, called by *Virgill* in his seauenth *Aeneid*, and *Silnius Italicus* in his eight booke *Lacus Cimini*, of the Mountaine so called, standing betweene this Lake and the Cittie of *Viterbo*, *Lago di Monte Rosa*, not large but deepe neere *Rome*, with fewe others.

The
plaines.

The *Plaines* are also few, (for they before are allowed but one fourth part) the chiefe are these. That of *Florence* wherein liue aboue two hundred thousand persons: that neere *Arezzo* called *Val' Arno*, because the Riuer passeth by it, the most fruitfull: that of *Pisa* the most lowe and therefore subiect to the ouer-flowing of *Arno*, whereof it hath tasted this present Winter to the Countries great losse: That of *Lucca* enuironed with Hilles, and the Cittie in the middest like a center in a circle: That of *Carfigniana* vnder the Dukedome of *Ferrara*. And lastly the *Plaines* of *Mezemma* in the State of *Siena*, the most large, and whither for the Wintering of their Cattle they are sent in October from the Mountaines. It hath the name of *Mare* the Sea, and therefore wee may well English it the Marshes of *Siena*, it runneth along the Sea-coast almost seauentie miles in length, betweene the two Riuers *Cornia* and

Pescia,

Pescia, not much inhabited with people through the badnesse of the ayre.

The Portes are, *Civita Vecchia* in the Popes State, for *Ostia* The Ports. is on the other side of *Tyber* *Orbetello*, *Port-ercole*, *Telamone*, *Castiglione* in the *Maremma*, howbeit vnder the King of *Spain*, as is also the *Monte Argentaro* and the Port of *Piombino*. The onely Port of worth vnder the great Dukes State, is that of *Liorno*, capable of any Fleet whatsoeuer.

It is rather to be called a Roade then a Harborough, and to bee obserued that this Sea neither ebbeth nor floweth. Here his Highnesse daily buildeth, meaning to make it a Citie, the walles and fortifications being almost finished. It is in forme fixe square, in circuite a mile three quarters, the length of the Curtaine is two hundred and sixteene paces, the face of the Bulwarke is one hundred thirtie and eight. From the *Spurra* which is fiftene paces thicke, to the *Flanker* which is so many broade, are eightene paces. The Diameter of the *Piazza* is foure hundred and fiftie. This proportion no doubt swarueeth from the strict rules of fortification, neither can I warrant the relation true by the line; I was forced to passe it in hast, and *tanquam aliud agens*, to auoide all ieaiousie; whereof I thought fit to aduertise the curious Reader, and to prevent the enuious detracter. Here is bestowed great cost, being indeed the onely Keye by which al commodities are transported and brought in not onely for the vse of *Tuscany*, but euen for the most places of *Italie*, so that it bringeth in a very great enrate to the great Dukes coffers, as I must more particularly and more fitly aduertise hereafter.

The Princes and States interressed in *Tuscany* are these. The Pope, who possesseth all from *Tiber* to *Fiere*, and so right vp from the Sea to the ridge of the *Apennine*, which is some fourth part of the whole. The *Spanish* King hath the Coast of *Maremma*, and the Ports thereof as is aboue said, wherein he keepeth Garrison, besides *Pontremoli*, and one other Fort or two on the side of *Liguria*. The Dukedome of *Ferrara* hath the valley of *Carfigniana*. The State of *Genoa*, *Serezana*. The State of *Lucca* hath

Liorno or Ligorno.

Princes interressed in Tuscany.

Liorno

Orbetello

Port-ercole

Castiglione

hath all her possessions herein. The Dukes of *Vrbine*, *Parma*, and *Bracciano* haue also each of them a Peece (howbeit most of this is in the Church part which is called the Patrimony of Saint Peter) There is also the *Signior di Piombino*, the *Marquessie di Massa*, and other inferiour Princes interested in this Countrie of another fourth part. So that there remaineth a Moitie vnder the great Dukes Government, whereof I haue vndertaken to giue this superficiall suruey which followeth.

The great
Dukes
State.

Castles.

This State, besides that it is enclosed with the Mountaines as with a wall on three sides, and with the Sea on the fourth, and so consequently by situation passing strong: it hath also many Castles and Fortresses, as *Rodicosany*, *Monte-falcon*, *Peligrine*, *Charole*, *Sansabastiano*, *Lusignano*, *Monterisine*, *Empoli*, *Castracaro*, *Sassa*, and diuers others, to the number of thirtie wherein is Garrison more or lesse: But of others which stand rather to shew the manner of fortifications in elder ages, and the force of time by which they are ruined, then for any vse of the time present, there are aboute three hundred. By which number may very probably bee coniectured their many and diuers States in this small circuite in former times: for as it appeareth by Historie, not onely *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Pisa* (which of late yeares were reduced into one Government) but also *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Volterra*, and almost all the Cities now vnder the great Duke, had euery one their seuerall and distinct State. Whereupon it was necessarie, each State should haue her Castles and Fortes to affront those that confined vpon them. As for those former wherein is Garrison, the most of them in the iudgment of men experienced, haue their defect either in their forme and manner of fortification, which is *All Antica*, or in their *Piazza* which are very little, and so thought vncapable of sufficient number to defend them. But besides these hee hath in each Citie a Cittadell, and therein a Garrison, which are all very moderne and strong: the vse of which Peece are not so much for defence of the Townes where they be, as to keepe in awfull termes the Cities themselves; as by the Cittadell at *Florence* and Fortresse of *Siena* appeareth.

Of Cities there be sixteene, the one halfe in the state of *Flo-* Cities.
rence, the other in that of *Sienna*: of the former state these bee
the nanes. *Florence* wereof is an Archbishoppicke, his name
that now is *Alexander Medici*: *Pisa* an Archbishoppicke also,
his name *Carolus Antonius Puteu*: *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Volterra*,
Cortona, *Burgo San Sepolchro*, and *Monte Pulciano*. Of the other
state are these: *Sienna* an Archbishoppicke his name *Ascanius*
Piccolhuominus, *Montaleino*, *Grossetto*, *Chiusi*, *Soana*, *Pienza*,
Massa and *Colle* christened a Citie five yeares since. Many of
these I saw not, and therefore presume not to speake of at large:
in the foure chiefest *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna* and *Pistoia*, I spent
sometiine, and hold them worthie of some little remembrance
in this discouse, before I come to speake of the generall parts of
this state.

Florence is seated at the head of a verie faire valley, and en- Florence.
uironed with high Mountaines especially towards *Bologna*, it
hath the streets very long, streight, large, and faire, paved with
a broad stone which they call *Lastra*, so as no weather makes
them foule: it is beautified with many stately Pallaces, which
haue more *del Reale* then *del Cittadinesco*, as that of the *Signio-*
ria, that of the *Pitti*, where is alwayes the great Dukes Court:
that of the *Medici* that of the *Strozzi* and many others: it is
graced with many large *Piazzes*, and in them many *Statues*,
some of Brasse, as that of *Cosmo*, the first great Duke, and others
very many and very curious; some of Marble, some of Alaba-
ster: it is diuided with the Riuer *Arno*, and vpon this foure
faire Bridges of Stone to passe from one part of the Citie to
the other. It is adorned with many faire Monasteries and
Churches, but aboue all with the most magnificent and admi-
rable Fabrick of the *Duomo* the workmanship of that excellent
Architeck *Brunelleschi* dedicated to *Santa Maria del Fiore*, and
is (they say) the true Modle of the Church of *Santa Sofia* in
Constantinople. The body of this Church from the West to the
Cupula is one hundred paces, the bredth fortie sixe: the
Cupula is in circuite three hundred paces with a gilt Ball of
Brasse on the toppe, wherein twentie men may stand vpright.

All the outside and pavement are of Marble, and the *Campanile* (a steeple) without, wherein the fineness of the stuffe and the rareness of the worke are both so excellent, as *Charles of Austria* said it was pittie, it had not a Mantle to keep it from foule weather. Not farre from the West Portaille of the *Duomo*, is the ancient Temple of *Mars*, round in forme, and now dedicated to *S. Iohn Baptist*: where besides the excellencie of the stuffe & workmanship, is a very rich Font, and a double leaved Gate of fine metall, and finer worke, whereof is not the like in *Europe* hereof writes *Vberti*:

*Io viddi molti luoghi rinchie cari,
Ma sopra tutti mi piacqua il Battista,
Che d' intagliò di marmo non se il pari.*

These and other such ornaments haue worthily got this Cittie the name of *Firenze la bella*: which the said Prince of *Austria* well confirmed, who vpon exact view taken of all the graces and beauties of this Towne, said *ch' ella era una città che non si doueua mostrare, se non ne' giorni solenni*: that this was a Citie not to be shewne but vpon holy-daies. The beauty of this Towne was the *Medius Terminus*, vpon which the vain-glorious *Florentine* grounded the reason of his induction, who argued thus: My house is the fairest Pallace in all the *Strada larga*: this the fairest street in *Florence*: this, the fairest Citie in *Italy*: this, the fairest Countrie of *Europe*: *Ergo*, my house is the fairest Pallace of *Europe*. Much like this argument of *Themistocles*: My little Boy ouer-rules my mother; shee gouernes me; I command all *Greece*: *Ergo* my little Boy commands all *Greece*.

The walles of this Towne are of rough stone, two and thirty foote high, not thick, but with a reasonable Rampart, herein one hundred and fiftie Towers built, all *Antica*, and in circuite five miles: there are neither Ditches of vse, nor Suburbs at all: there were of these Suburbs vntill the yeare 1528: and they almost as big as the whole Citie, as *Leander Alberti* testifieth: at what time they were vtterly ruined, and now no memorie of them remaining. This carrieth the greater credit, for that *Boccace* in the beginning of his *Decameron*, describing the great plague

plague of *Florence*, saith, there died in one yeare aboute one hundred thousand persons: more then are now in all the Citie, the Suburbes being gone.

Vpon the North-west of this VVall is a Cittadell begun in the time of *Alexander Medici* first Duke, by the motion of *Clement* the 7. as in the last Booke of *Guicciardine* appeareth. The end of building this Peere, was to bridle the Towne, for which vse it is still manned with a strong Garrison, and prouided of Powder, shot, munition, victuall, and all things necessarie. Right against this on the South-east of the Citie is the Fortresse of *San Miniato*, and on the South, the new Fort which standeth on the hill right ouer the Great Dukes house, both to defend the same, as also to retire into, if need were, with all his treasure, and lastly to commaund the Towne; for which three vses it fitly serueth.

It may here bee obserued of *Florence* as also of most of the Cities of this State, that few or none of them can be said to be strong, except either in respect of their situation among Hilles, as *Sienna* and *Volterra*; or by reason of those Cittadels, by which they may recouer the Townes being lost, as we say of *Brescia* & *Bergamo* in the state of *Venice*: True it is, that in the *Venetian* Dominion yee haue other strong Townes in other respects; some by good fortification, good VValles, thicke Rampars, deepe and large Ditches, capable and defensible Bulwarkes, and in a moist soile, as *Treniso* and *Lignago*; others are therefore strong, because besides these fortifications, they are so great in circuite, as they cannot be besieged but by a mightie Armie, as *Padua* and *Verona*: and others by reason of their situation vpon the Sea as *Corfu* whether the *Venetians* being Lords of that Sea, may a wayes send succours vpon occasion. But concerning the Cities of *Florence*, none of them can be said to be strong in any of the three last respects.

There are fortie foure Parish Churches, twelue Priories, seauentie six Monasteries of men and women, and thirtie seauen Hospitals. There be religious people of all sorts 24000. so many of others as make the whole number 90000. In the Cloisters

of the Church of *San Lorenzo* is a very faire and beautifull Librarie, built and furnished with Bookes by the Family of *Medici*: the rooſe is of Cedar very curiouſly wrought with knots and flowers, and right vnder each knot is the ſame wrought with no leſſe Art in the pauement. In this Library I told three thouſand nine hundred Bookes very fairely bound in Leather, after one ſort, all bound to their ſeates, which were in number ſixtie eight: and, which is the greateſt grace and coſt alſo very many of the Bookes were written with the Authours owne hands. There is alſo at the farther end of this Librarie one other of prohibited bookes, which I could not ſee.

The great Scale of *Florence* is the *Lyon* and *Hercules*: their Armes were in former times a *Flower de Liſe* argent in a field gules, but vpon the baniſhment of the *Ghibelline* faction, they are altered to the contrary; the Field to the colour of the flower, and the flower to the colour of the field. Within theſe hundred yeares haue beene of this Citie three Popes, *John* and *Julius Medici*, *Leo*, the tenth, and *Clement* the ſeuenth, and *Hippolitus Aldebrandini* called *Clement* the eight that yet liueth. Here haue alſo flouriſhed many famous men in matter of learning, as *Francesco Guicciardini* for a iudiciall Hiſtoriographer; *Nicolas Machiavelle* for a worldly Politician; *Michel Angelo* for an excellent Painter; *Petrarche* and *Dante* for ſingular Poets; and *Boccace* for his pleaſant garbe and refining their language, and many others.

Hauiſg gazed your fill vpon the beauties of this Towne, if for varieties ſake, and your better recreation, you will walke abroad into the *Villa per ſpaſſo*, as the *Italian* ſaith; you ſhall haue there in view, ſo many and ſuch goodly Pallaces, for the ſpace of fixe or ſeauen miles compaſſe, as (they ſay) would make one other *Florence*. But aboue all, the great Dukes Pallace of *Pratolino* built by his brother *Francesco*, is the moſt admirable, not for the Pallace it ſelfe, or manner of the building; for there are manie can match it, if not excel it. But for the exquisite and rare inuention of Water-workes wherein it is excellent, and thought to exceede *Tinoli* by *Rome*, ſo much in this kind commended.

mended. The house it selfe is built in forme of a *Romane T*, the head of the letter which is the front of the house, beeing in length seuentie paces, and the other part fifty foure: the roomes for offices of Court, and lodgings are seuentie, whereof these are all of one bignesse, forme, and furniture: with three goodly Halles richly furnished, running along the middest of the Pallace, from the one end to the other, and the one opening into the other, so as according to the winde or sunne, hee may giue his entertainment for the best ease of them he feasteth: It is seated betweene two high Hilles, vpon a third lower then they, from which hilles ye descend some quarter of a mile, by a way set with quick set & kept after our English fashion, yee mount vp to the *Terrace* of the Front by twelue staires, very faire of Stone, directly wherevpon, at the head of a Garden set round with statues of the Muses in a ground sencibly ascending, is seen a huge Giant cut out of the maine Rock, with al his parts, as armes, hands, legges, and feet, symmetricall to his head, wherein may stand a dozen men: in it are kept Pigeons; the loouers whereat they come in and out, are his eares; the windowes which giue light to the roome, are his eyes. Out of his mouth falleth into a very faire poole, al the water that serues the worke on the other side the Pallace, among which are many sights yeelding very great content, as *Noes Arke* with all kinds of beasts, *Hercules* fighting with a Dragon, Birdes artificially singing, Organs musically playing, showres of raine plentifully downe powring, and infinite sort of such deuise, more delightfull to be seene, then pleasant to bee discoursed of. To conclude, the deuise so good, the workmanship so rare, and the charge so great, as it is said constantly that it cost Duke *Francesco* three hundred thousand Crownes.

The great Duke hath another Pallace, two miles from *Florence*, called *Castello*, onely for pleasure, but not so beautified nor full of water-workes as this of *Pratolino*: an other distant 10. miles off, called *Il Poggio Imperiale*, more profitable then they both, in forme quadrangular, fifty six paces square; Where besides the pleasure it yeelds of hunting, it yeeldeth also sum-

mering and Hay for his Horses, and keepeth the great Duches a dairie of three hundred Kine : a commodity worth the remembring in this state, where in three-score miles are not seen three-score head of Cattle ; not so much good pasture ground (that I say) in the whole Countrie.

I am now before I proceed to the other chiefe Cities, to remember in a word, how and when the *Florentines* came impatronized of diuers other states of *Tuscany*, and what forme of gouernment they had in former times, vntill *Leo* and *Clement*, for I must there needs begin, when I shall come to speake of the great Dukes title.

This Citie of *Florence*, after many conflicts with the olde City of *Fesula*, (whereof now almost remaineth no memory, but the hilles whereon it stood) getting the vpper hand, and many of that old towne following the fortune of the winner, comming hither to dwell, it grew to beare the name of a great and rich City : which till then (euer since the time of *Sylla*, by whom they say it was first founded and made a Collony of the *Romanes*) bare rather the name of a Bourough, then otherwise. And after a combination of these two Cities into one Comminalty, they quartered the Armes of *Fesula*, which were a Moone Azure in a field Argent, with those of *Florence*, being a *Flower de Life*, Argent in a field Gules. It was afterward subiect to diuers sackings and subuersions by the *Gothes*, *Gaules*, and *Lombards*, partaking with other Cities of *Italy*, in those miseries which these Nations inflicted. Insomuch as there was nothing remayning of their ancient glory, but ruines and desolation, & what the barbarous cruelty of such an enemy could not tyrannize vpon. In these termes *Charles* the great found it, who caused it to be reedified, appointing for the gouernment therof two Consuls, and a Senate of an hundred. After this, they altered the gouernment, conferring it vpon ten called *Antiani* Aldermen, (as I take it) in the yeere 1254. Shortly after in the yeere 1287. they wan the City of *Pistoia*, and about the same time they purchased the liberty of the Emperour *Rodolphe* for three-score thousand Duckets: And againe changed their forme of gouernment

ment to eight *Priori*, and a *Gonfalonier* of Iustice, who was to hold his place for 2. moneths only. Presently after they bought *Arezzo* of *Maſtino della ſala*, for forty thousand duckets. And in the yeere 1471. they wan by force *Volterra*, one of the 12. first Cities of *Tuſcany*, and honoured with the birth of the Poet *Persius*. They got also *Piſa*, & the whole State therof, of whose reuolt, and recouery, what parts taking there was, & what time was spent, and how many Millions it coſt them to be repossessed thereof, *Guicciardine* very fully discourseth, and were heere to tedious to be particularly related. The gouernment of a *Gonfalonier* was altered by *Gualteri Franceſe* Duke of *Athens*, who at the Cities request requiring aide, was sent thither by *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, & at his first comming deposed the *Gonfalonier*, and *Priory*, and vsurped himſelfe; but he was quickly expulſed and the former officer reinueſted: till the time of Pope *Alexander* the fixt, whose son *Ceſar Borgia* duke *Valentinois* ſought to bring in the three banished *Medici*, *Piero*, *Giouanni*, and *Guiliano*; wherupon the *Florentines* made *Piero Soderini* their *Gonfalonier* perpetuall, as *Buonacorſi* an approued *Italian* writer, & *Guicciardine* in his fiſt booke doth teſtifie. Theſe alterations haue been ſince the reſtauration of the City by *Charles*, (which notwithstanding) *Guicciardine* lib. 1. cap. 17. ſaith, was *openione inueterata benchè falſa. che Carlo l'haueſſe reſedificata*, an old but falſe coniecture, that *Charles* did reedifie it: beſides thoſe alſo which it ſuffered afterwards, which ſhall more fitly be remembered heereafter.

From *Florence* I muſt paſſe to the City *Piſtoia*, ſeated at the other end of this valley, 20. miles off. But the Caſtle of *Prato*, being in the way and commanding the paſſage, I dare not but ſalute it; the rather for that I ſpent ſoure moneths in that Towne.

There are in *Italy*, among I know not how many thouſands, ſoure principall Caſtles aboue the reſt reputed, as *Leander Alberti* in his view of *Italy* discourseth: *Barletta* in *Puglia* in the kingdome of *Naples*; *Fabriana* in *Marca Anconitana*, vnder the ſtate of the Church; *Crema* in *Lombardia*, vnder the *Venetians*, and

and *Prato* in *Tuscan*a, vnder the great Duke. It is heere to be obserued that these are called Castles, not that they bee onely Fortresses and places of strength, but that they be large townes fortified with wall and Bulwarke, and haue their Territories; they onely want Bishops Sees, wherein they differ from Cities.

It standeth in the middest of this Valley vpon the riuer *Bisenzio*; it is in forme sex-angular, at each corner a Bulwarke *alla Moderna* very defensible; the walles in circuite two miles, with an olde peece at the East built (they say) by *Frederico Barbarossa*. The *Contado* (the Territory) of this Towne is in length eight miles in breadth foure, in circuite foure & twenty, within which compasse (with those within the Towne) are fifty nine Churches, eight and thirty Monasteries, and other religious houses, and of all sorts of peoples sixteene thousand, whereof two thousand are religious. Here is (they say) the Girdle of our Lady brought thither by a Marchant from the Indies, whether it was first carried by *S. Thomas* the Apostle, a Relike which they hold in high esteeme, keepe with very great care come to see with great deuotion, & is shewed to the people with great reuerence once a yeere; that is, on our Ladies day in September, in the time of their Faire, and when is most concourse of strangers. There came that day in deuotion (to see me, not the Girdle) two English Gentlemen my friends; we obserued (if it be not impertinent here to remember) that there were in view vpon the Market place of people at the shewing of this Relike, about eightene or twenty thousand, whereof we iudged one halfe to haue hats of Straw, and one fourth part to be bare legged; that we know all is not gold in *Italy*: though many Trauellers gazing onely on the beauty of their Cities, and the painted surface of their houses, thinke it the onely Paradize of *Europe*. But if they would with me,

— *sordidamur* —

Atque bimiles intrare casas & visere gentem:

they would surely grant, that pouerty and famine had not a greater kingdome in those Countries, where *Craesus* starued his Army, then they haue heere. But no maruell though *Prato* bee
poore

poore being so vniustly and cruelly sacked in the yeere 1512. by the Spaniards vnder the conduct of *Raymondo Cardona*, for want of pay which the *Florentines* ought him and his Souldiers: who most vilely gaue the sacking of this pretty (and then rich) towne, to the barbarous insolency of the proud Spaniard, and came themselues with bagges of Crownes to purchase the lands of the poore harmelesse *Pratesi*, wherwith they were forced to redeeme their liberty, after the rauishing of their wiues, killing of their children, robbing their shops and houses, and other such insolent out-rages; whereof *Guicciard. lib 11.* complaineth, that from their auarice, lust, and cruelty, nothing was safe. And *Buonacorsi* saith, that they spared neither virgin, infant, nor church, & *Paulus Iouius* affirmeth, that the Spanish cruelty in this sacke of *Prato* did far exceede that of the *Dutch* and *French*, at the sacke of *Brescia*, so much detested. Hence is it that at this day the name of Spaniard is there most odious, for among all other names of infamy and reproch, when they haue called one *Poltrone*, *furfante*, *Manigoldo*, *Traditore*, and all that naught is, they ende alwaies in this *Spagnuolo* intending (it should seeme) that there is not a worse name vnder the sunne.

But leauing them expostulating this iniurie of the *Florentines*, and bewailing their owne miseries, I will proceed to the *Pistoia*.
City of *Pistoia*.

It is seated at the West end of the Valley, in circuite two miles and a halfe, the walles old and weake, built by *Desiderius* king of the *Lombards*: Howbeit the Bulwarkes are very moderne and strong, with a Cittadell built by Duke *Francesco*, and manned with a sufficient garrison to keepe the towne in awe. This Towne is called of *Cato* and *Pliny*, *Pistorium*; and of *Ptolomey*, *Pistoria quasi Pestoria* (saith one) of the pestilence that there raigned among the souldiers, which remained of *Catiline* Campe after he was ouerthrowne, who (say they) was the first builder thereof. Others will haue it called of *μῆτις* and *δῖος*, that is the faithfull Territorie. Others because it is the doore of the Mountaines which the words also signifie, for from hence is away to passe through the *Appennines* into *France*: by which

the French forces passed into *Tuscany*, and so to *Naples*, in the time of *Charles* the eight, as by the historie appeareth. All which are either false coniectures and carry no correspondencie of truth with history, or at least are idle suppositions, and carry with them no matter of import. For what reason is there that the *Grecians* should giue names to towns in *Tuscany*, who neuer came ouer the riuer *Tener*? or that they should christen this and no other? or that a *Romane* should be the Father, and a *Greeke* the Godfather; but were it so, it little importeth, and therefore I haue purposely auoided these fruitlesse etymologies: else could I haue said before, that *Florence* was called either (*Flusntia*) because it stands between the two waters *Mognone* and *Arno*, or (*Fiorentia*) of *Fiore* a flower, because it is the flower and beauty of *Italy*: or (*Firenze*) which *Giambolare* one of their writers deriues from a *Caldrey* word, and signifies (hee saith) a valiant Souldier; as who would say the *Florentines* were such: which I haue not yet read, and I am sure, they of *Siena* will not confesse: who will not let to bragge how often they haue beaten them in the field. Indeed I well remember, that writers giue them the attribute of (*Ingenious & wise*) as namely *Macciavelly* in his *Florentine* history, & *Guicciardine* in the very beginning of his booke, *Cart. 2*. Howbeit I could easily condescend to the opinion of *Imbalt* a French commander, who vpon good experience, *Guicciardine lib. 5. cart. 144. Non sapena doue consistesse, l'ingegno tanto celebrate de Fiorentini* could not finde where that great witte of theirs laye. So likewise these word-founders will haue their Citie *Arezzo* to be so old, as that it was built, when for want of a fit name, they were faine to call it (*Earth*) for so in the Hebrew tongue it signifieth. But seeing that *Tully* & *Varro* call it (*Aretium*) and not (*Arezium*) me thinkes they might better deriue it from *Mars* (which the word well beareth) for I am well assured, that historie makes the *Arretines* and their neighbours the *Perugians*, farre better Souldiers then the *Florentines*.

But I will not overcharge this short discourse with deriuations, I had rather leaue them with the capriccious Antiquaries
of

of *Tuscanie*, and returning to *Pistoia*, say: that though it be very little, it is very rich, as hauing a *Contado* full of oyle and wine: insomuch as it is said, they presse yearely one hundred thousand Barrells of Wine, whereof they send the one halfe to *Florence*, of which the great Duke hath (*gabel*) a custome one *Guilio*, (six-pence sterling) for euery Barrell, at the enterie into euery Citie gate, besides the tenth leuied vpon it before, and an imposition after vpon euery tauerne, as shall more fitly in the discourse of his entrate be aduertised.

This Towne is famous, or rather infamous, for the two factions of the *Bianchi* and *Nerey*, which ruined themselves, and troubled the peace of *Florence* also: it began thus. Two yong Gentlemen of the Towne falling out, and so proceeding from words to blowes, it chanced one of them receiued a light hurt, The father of the other (because he would kill all motions to a farther quarrell) sends his Sonne to aske pardon of the Father and Parentage of the other whom he had hurt: but he causing his seruants to lay hold on him, commaunded his right hand to be cut off, and sent him away with this answer, *Va dal tuo Padre & digli, che le ferite non si curano con parole ma col ferro*; Goe to thy father and tell him, hurts are not cured with wordes, but with the sword. Hereupon grew that great and bloudie enmitie betweene those two houses, which drew into it all the great families of *Pistoia*, as also them of *Florence*, where the *Donati* banded with the *Neri*, and the *Circhi*, with the *Bianchi*. Since which faction, there hath also another risen no lesse dangerous then the former betweene the *Cancellieri* and the *Panzadici*, scarce yet so composed, but that vpon euery small occasion it is readie to breake out.

This Towne pretendeth to be much priuiledged aboue all other Citi: s vnder the great Duke, for at the time when they yeelded to the State of *Florence*, it was among other Capitulations concluded; that in any *Bando* (Proclamation) whatlocuer except the Citie and *Contado* of *Pistoia* were expressly named, it was to be vnderstood exempt and freed from the same, which indeed is stil obserued, howbeit a course is taken neuer to leaue

that claue out : so that I see small reason they haue to bragge so much thereof: The people in and without the Citie are supposed sixtie foure thousand : the Religious are much about the rate of them in *Prato* an eight part.

I cannot passe the direct way from hence to *Pisa*, whether the course of this discourse directs me, vnlesse I passe vnder the walles of *Lucca* : which being no part of this State I know not how I may speake of; that haue vndertaken to write of nothing else : and yet passing so neare, I know not how to auoide some mention thereof, that am likewise to aduertise of what I haue seene. Wherefore betweene a doubt which is a lesse fault, to digresse in my narration, or bee diuerted out of my way, I will speak so little, as if it be a fault to digresse, it may be excused, because this little is nothing, and if it be a fault to write so little, it may be answered I durst not digresse.

Lucca.

The Citie of *Lucca* was anciently called *Fredia*, and afterwards being the first of the twelue old Cities of *Tuscanie*, that receiued the Christian faith & light of the Gospell, it changed the name of *Lucca*, a *Luce*, herewith accordeth *Fuccio Vberti*;

Ma perche alluminata della fede

Fu pria, ch' altra Cittade di Toscana,

Cangiò il suo nome, e Lucca le se diede.

It is seated (as is before said) like a Center in a Circumference, in the middest of a faire and pleasant valley, enuironed with waft and huge Mountaines : The walles in circuite two miles, are of Bricke very new, strengthened with a very thick Rampart, and fortified *alla moderna*, with very many and defensible Bulwarks. Inasmuch as it is thought, that when the Bulwarke that is now in making at the North-west of the Towne is finished, with one other at the East which is alreadie purposed, and the *Terrapieno* (Rampart) of this East-side made answerable to the rest, which is also intended, it shall then haue in all, eleuen Bulwarkes, and will without exception be one of the best fortified townes in *Italy*. They keep in the towne a garrison continually of three hundred Souldiers, and are able (they say) to drawe into their Citie at two dayes warning out of their owne Territorie, thirtie thousand able men for seruice; for which number they

they haue prouision of armes, victuals, and all things necessary vpon occasion. I was in their Granaries, where I saw, as they credibly rated it of Wheate, Ric, Beanes, and Chestnut Meale the quantity of fixe hundred thousand Staies, which of our measure maketh about fifty thousand quarters, besides so much more kept in diuers Conuents and Monasteries of the towne, which they call their *Provisione d' Abondanza* (store). All which prouision is able (in case of a Siege) to maintaine the Citie for two yeeres, at the number of three-score thousand people, allowing twelue Staies a man the yeere; a proportion in those parts, and such cases very large. The reasons of these fortifications, garrisons, and prouisions, which they make, is the iealous feare they haue of the great Duke, of whom all their State, which is somewaies fifty miles in length this euery way enuironed, whose greatnesse is nothing pleasing to the *Lucebessi*, neither can they well digest that his title (*di Toscana*) and therefore the *Signoria* of this State sending letters of congratulation (they say) but it is more probable, about some other their affaires to *Cosmo Medici*, presently after his creation of great Duke, they stiled their letters thus. *All' Illmo et eccellmo principi Cosmo Medici gran Duca (in) Toscana*. To which garbro of theirs the *Italian* rime also alludeth, which saith thus;

*S' il Duca hausse Lucca e Serezana,
Sarebbe il gran Duca (di) Toscana.*

Implying that it is no reason, he should be entitled great Duke of the whole, hauing no more but the one halfe. But howsoeuer this towne stand *prouista* as it braggeth, and are able to keepe him out of themselves two or three yeeres together, more then probable it is, that the feare of the Spanish King, to whose protection it is recommended, doth curbe his desire in attempting the action, watching over this pretty State with an ambitious and couetous eie, come *Lo Sparaniere alla quaglia*, as the Hauke over the Quale, hoping one day for an opportunity.

I am now by order leauing *Lucca* to looke to her selfe, to passe the Mount *Saint Iulian*, and arriue at *Pisa*; a City in former times very populous as any in *Tuscany*, now so dispeopled Pisa.

as there are not iudged aboue foureteene thousand persons, though in circuite it be little lesse then *Florence*: the Walles for the most part are of Bricke, but in some places of square Stone, the Ramparts conuenient, the Bulwarkes not many nor correspondent: the peece of chieftest import is the Castle vpon the South-west of the towne, wherein is a garrison of fifty, with munition and other necessaries, for the vse as is abouesaid of keeping the City in awe. The scite heereof is in a plaine vpon the Riuer *Arno*, which passeth through the middest therof with one bridge onely, and falleth into the Sea, some sixe miles belowe; whereby it appeareth that the land hath lately gotten much vpon the Sea on this coast, as wee finde in diuers places vpon our coast in *England*, for that in the time of *Strabo* he reporteth, it was but twenty furlongs off, which is two miles and a halfe distant from the Sea.

Out of this Riuer is cut a Ditch from this Towne to *Linorno*, fifteene miles long, for the more conuenient carriage of such wares as arriue in that Roade, and are thence conueied by water from *Pisa* vp to *Florence*; and so by land into other places of *Tuscany*, *Romagna*, *Lombardia*, and *Rome* also. The Boates wherein these wares are carried are but small, in number betweene sixe and seuen hundred, which our English Marchants *Burlando* (gibing) call the great Dukes fleete. The nature of this plaine is for the most part marish, though in times past it was fit either for pasture or tillage, as by the commodity thereout reaped for the maintenance of the citie appeareth by *Guicciard*. But since that the Citie being conquered by the *Florentines*, and most of the ancient *Pisani* departed, some into *Sicilia*, other into *Sardegna*, *Corfica*, and other places, preferring a voluntary banishment, before a forced subiection; the Towne hath beene so desolate as there haue not beene people sufficient to maintaine this plaine against the fury of *Arno*, whereby it hath beene much wasted, as hath partly beene said.

There are, besides the commodity of the seat, lying between *Florence* and *Linorno*, three other causes that this City is frequented, otherwise it would be very desolate. The first is the
espe-

especiall fauour of the Prince himselfe, who because hee was here borne, beareth an extraordinarie affection to the place, as by his often comming and long tarrying appeareth. Another is, for that it is the place where properly the order of Saint *Stephen* is resident: where the Knights of this order haue their Pallace, Officers and other dependances. The last, for that there is a studie as they call it in *Italie* (a Vniuersitie) erected by *Cosmo*, and is reasonably frequented.

In this Towne among many other Churches and Monasteries, is that excellent Fabrick of the *Battisterio*, built (they say) in fourteene dayes: It standeth hard at the West-end of the *Duomo*, which for the beautie thereof might haue compared with that of *Siena* so much commended, had it not by mishap beene burned in the yeare 1595. in October; it is now in the repairing at the great Dukes charges: Howbeit in liew hereof, he hath raised the price of his Salt fine *Quattrini* in the pound, throughout this State for the space of ten yeares: and it is to be thought (by examples too many of like nature in other places) that being once granted, it shall not then bee ended. On the North of this Church is the *Campo Santo*, as they call it, their *Gelgotha* or place of buriall, the earth whereof was brought in ships from the *Terra Santa*, as their Histories record: & as they affirme, the dead consume there in foure and twentie houres. Not farre from this place is an olde ruinous Tower, called by them (*Torre di fame*) in memorie of the mercilesse crueltie of *Ruggiero* the Archbishop, who vpon suspicion of treason immured therein *Conte Hugolino* a Noble *Pisano*, and his foure children, causing them to be starued: of whom *Dante* the Poet in his 33. Chapter *dell inferno*, verie elegantly discourseth, faining, that there for a torment due to such a fact, the *Conite* tireth vpon the Bishops head with a neuer satisfied greedinesse. Here is also an Arsenall, wherein the Duke hath two or three of his Gallies in mending, but no new in the making, neither Artillerie or any thing else worth the remembrance. Heere the great Duke hath a Pallace, but so ill contriued, and so vnworthie the presence of so great a Prince, as it is said, the deuiser thereof
looking

looking for great praise at the Dukes hands for his rare plot, and finding after that it disliked his Highnesse, in a melancholy discontent threw himselfe into the *Arno*: hee hath also another lesser house lately built, wherein are many small Statues of Marble and Mettall, many Medalles and Pictures, some painted, others of Feathers very exquisitely artificiall. Besides peeces of Vre vntried both of Gold and Siluer, Corall vnpolished, whereof ye shal see some growe vpon the Sculles of dead-men, with infinite such like, more delightfull to bee seene, then needfull to bee related of. Vnto this building is adioyning a Garden of Simples, not much inferiour to that of *Padua*: But the thing of best vse and greatest cost, and therefore vnfitte to bee forgotten, is a Conduict of water vpon Arches into the Towne from *Valderale* fiue mile off, wherewith the better part of the Citie is serued. Other buildings I remember not, worth the remembring; except the *Campanile*, which Architecture hath this varietie, that the top thereof, by a line perpendicularly downe-falling to the ground, sheweth that it is prominent or hanging ouer the *Basis* ten or twelue foot by the square. As for the Citie it selfe, it is the greater halfe voide, wherein is nothing but Gardens of hearbes and rootes; the houses that there be, are for the most part so olde and ruinous, as that the great Duke hath lately giuen commandement, that euery one according to his abilitie, should either build new, or at the least repaire and trim them on the out-sides for the better grace of the Towne. So vnlike is *Pisa* to it selfe; which in former times was able to wage battaile at Land with the *Florentines*, at Sea with the *Genoese*; yea and with *Venice* also: And before that, to conquer *Sardigna*, to ouercome the King of *Carthage*, and bring him prisoner to *Rome*, to recouer *Palermo* in *Sicilia* from the *Sarazens*, to assist the *French* with a mighty Nauy in their voyage to the holy Land, to send fortie ships to the recouery of *Alexandria*, for *Almerick* King of *Ierusalem*, to aide the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa* against the state of *Mulan*; besides many other their famous and victorious conquests; whereupon one saith: *Erat Pisa altera Roma, fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium nunc seges ubi*

ubi Troia fuit.

To speake of the diuers governments of this Towne, and the many alterations it hath suffered, were a discourse, though not altogether needlesse or impertinent, yet so large or rather tedious, as would be altogether disproportionat to my former breuitie: I will leaue it therefore altogether vntouched, and goe forward my Iourney to *Siena*.

Sciena.

This Citie challengeth the title of much Antiquitie, being built by *Sanefius* the son of *Remus*, *Romulus* his brother, which may seeme to carry some matter of truth, for that the Armes of the Citie is a Wolfe, with two Infants sucking vpon her: which Armes are to bee seene in diuers places of the Towne both in Marble and Mettall. It is called by *Pliny*, *Colonia Senensis*, and by *Tacitus* in the 20. booke of his History, but whether it was built by *Sanefius*, or the *Galli Senones* that went with *Brennus* into *Italy*, I leaue indifferent to the Reader: this last is alleaged out of *Ptolomies* Tables, though I rather subscribe to the former. It is seated vpon the tops of diuers small hills, very neerely meeting together, which with their declinings makes the Situation very vneuen, and such as I haue not else-where seene: by reason whereof it is iudged infinitely strong, as not hauing any commanding hill neere, whereby it might be preiudiced, nor any way by which forces may be brought before it; saue onely at the two gates towards *Rome* and *Florence*: and yet there so narrow, as there cannot possibly come about ten Souldiers *alla filata* in rancke. So that as *Linorno* is the key by which all forces must passe, that by Sea would approach *Florence*, so is *Siena* the Porte or gate by which they must enter, that either from *Naples* or the Churches state would come to annoie it. For from the way of *Romagna* or *Bologna*, ther is very hard passage for an Armie, so sharpe and inaccessible are the mountaines, which beeing well considered by *Cosmo* (then Duke) of *Florence*, no maruell though he neuer rested till hee had got the towne and whole state of *Siena* into his hands.

The meanes thus; The Citie about forty five yeeres since, being besieged by the forces of the Pope, *Charles* the fift, and

E

Cosmo

Cosmo Duke of *Florence*, rendred it selfe at length to the Emperour, and receaued a garrison of *Spaniards*, but keeping still their manner of gouernment which they before vsed. The Emperour by earnest sollicitation of the D. d' *Alua*, in whom the Duke of *Florence* his purse (they say) had got him great interest, was content to render it into the Duke of *Florence* his possession, for certaine summes of money to be paid, besides a yearely rent, with a recognition that it was holden of him, and certaine other couenants, which some say were neuer performed, as also that this contract was made without the consent of *Philip* king of *Spain* that now is, whereof were not his hands full of actions in other places, it is thought some stirre might arise. So that *Cosmo de' Medici* the second Duke of *Florence* vnited that state with this of *Siena*, which is by estimation bigger then the state of *Millan*, and the most fruitefull part of all *Tuscany*. Whereupon he altered his Stile which before was *Dux Florentia*, and intituled himselfe *Dux Florentia & Senarum*.

The ornaments of speciall note in this towne are three: The first is the *Duomo*, no great but a faire and rich Fabrick, all the out-side of Marble, so is the Pauement, the roofo guilt; & at the foote thereof, are very curiously cut in stone and guilded, also all the Popes from the first till within these eighty yeares. The second is the Cisterne, a place, whereout of the Rocke floweth aboundance of waters, and haue their Cesternes and Pooles very well cut of Stone to receaue the same. The last is the *Piazza*, one hundred and sixtie paces in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth, very steepely descending. At the head hereof is a very faire Fountaine, and at the foote is the Pallace of the *Signoria*, round about it are very faire and high houses. I haue not seene a Market-steede, excepting that of *San Marco* in *Venice*, so beautifull. The fairest Pallace of this Cittie, not excepting the great Dukes, is that of the *Piccolhuomini*, begun by *Pius Secundus*, and ended by *Pius Tertius*, both of this family; which needs not much enuie the most stately of those in *Florence*. The walles of this Cittie, as also the houses and streets are all of Bricke.

They

They haue here (they say) the arme of *S. Iohn Baptist*, which The arme they very religiously and with much reuerence hold as a reliick; of *S. Iohn Baptist*. It was sent by the Turke to *Aeneas Silvius Piccol homini*, being Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*, in lieu whereof, this Pope sent him the halfe Moone for a Crest.

There is a Fortresse at the North-west of this towne, reputed strong: howbeit the forme being Quadrangular, and therefore the angles not so obtuse as in those of five or more; it is iudged of moderne Enginiers as namely of *Maggi*, a late Italian writer in the subiect of fortifications, not to answer the reputation it hath in generall. The Artillery herein (they say, for we may not enter it) much and good: the garrison but five and twentie at this present, the end, is to command the towne vpon any occasion. The Fortresse. The Artillery.

This Citty like that of *Pisa*, is noted to be much decaied since their subiection to the family *Medici*, there not being now about two and twenty thousand persons, where in times past were alwayes about fiftie. The Gentlemen of this Citty are noted to be generally more ciuill, affable, & courteous to strangers then they are in other places. They liue altogether vpon their reuenues, without exercising any trade of Merchandize or exchange vpon the Bancke, which course notwithstanding, all the Nobilitie of *Florence* and *Pisa*, euen to the great Duke himselfe doe take: as likewise they of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Rome*, and generally all places and states of *Italy*, except *Naples*. People decayed. The Gentry. Their course of liuing.

Hauing in brieue discoursed of three chiefe Citties of *Tuscany*, *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Pisa*, which deserue so to be called, either for that each of them hath in times past had her seuerall State, or for that they be the Seates of three Archbishopricks: it now remaineth I aduertise of the commodities of this countrie, beginning with the Mountaines and their fruites, which because they be for the most part craggie and barren, as they allowe those that possesse them but little profit; so they yeeld me that write of them but little matter: no maruaile then though the discourse be like the hilles themselues, barraine. The three chiefe cities, and why? Commodities out of Mountaines.

There is digged out of these hilles a kinde of Free-stone, Free-stone passing

Diuers colours. passing hard, of colour according to the nature of the place whereout it is taken, white, redde, and blacke, or to say more properly inclining to these colours : of all which sorts there be in *Florence* and elsewhere, very gallant and stately Pallaces builded. They haue also in many places pits of Marble, white, blew, and party-coloured excellent good : namely in the Territory of *Massa*, but especially in the Mountaines of *Carrara* and *Lunigiana* : hence daily they dig for the building of their Churches and Pallaces of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Rome*, and *France* also, wherout might be digged enough to serue a world of building, if the transporting it into other places were not so chargeable, or rather the impossibility to bring it from the pits where it is digged, to the Port where they should load it, by reason of the cragginess of the Rocks. Of these Marble Pits, *Iuuenal* seemes to make mention, where he saith ;

*Procubuit veluti qui saxa lignistica portat
Axis.*

And *Uberti* in his sixt Canto saith thus :

*E vedimmo Carrara, oue la gente,
Trona il candido Marmo in tanta copia,
Che n' assai haurebbe tutta l' oriente.*

The building of Italy fairer then ours, and why ?

This is the reason the buildings of *Italy* so farre exceed ours, especially their Chuches : as for any other thing in that land the truth is they can no way compare with vs, nor make good the great opinion the world hath thereof.

Acornes.

The other fruites of these Mountaines which are indeed vse full and necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants, are Acornes, Oliues, and Chesnuts : of Acornes especially in the state of *Siena* are very great store, wherewith, ouer and besides those they eat themselves, they feede their Swine, not hauing of Beanes or Pease to spare for this purpose ; The great Duke maketh yeerely of certaine woods he hath in this State aboue a thousand Duckets.

Oliues.

They haue also Oliues, but not in such plentiful manner as to be able to send any Oyle into other parts : for they want heereof to serue there owne turnes ; beeing a commodity so necessary

necessarie, as without it, it were not possible they should liue, feeding as they doe vpon nothing else but cold fruits and rawe herbes; insomuch as the *Villano* and poorer sort feedeth not vpon flesh once a moneth and then most sparingly; as for Butter and Cheese, were it not for *Lombardie* they should scarce know what it meant.

Their scarcitie and necessitie.

The third benefit of the hills is the Chesnut, the Countreymans bread, as water is his drinke. who (except hee be sicke) which we then refuse, drinketh no Wine, and except very seldome eateth nothing but those Nuts; the sterilitie of the Countreie being such, as not to afford bread of corne for one fourth part of the yeare. Such is the wretched penurie of this Nation, abounding in nothing but in quaint termes, which discouer their humour, but satisfie not their hunger; whereof shall be more fitly discoursed hereafter. It may heere suffice to inferre that the greater part of this State being hills, and the most of those baraine, and much of these other nothing but stone: no maruaile then, though they build like the *Agrigentines*, and liue like the *Seythians*, though they dwell like Princes, and feed like Peasants, though their houses bee great and their tables small, though the women haue in one day more riches on their backe then they spend in three ages on the sustenance of their bodie. And yet that glorie and wealth there is, is in the Citie, and in the handes of few, to whom all the fruits of the Countreie are conueied: as for the Artificer he can doe no more but liue, whereof scarce one in a Citie euer groweth rich, and the poore *Contadines* life is such, as if naturally he were not proud in this extreame miserie, it would moue any stranger to pittie his estate.

Chesnuts.

Their vse.

Corne. scarce.

I haue stood in my lodging on a market-day, when the Countreie hath come in, and when commonly they attire themselves in their best robes: yet haue I obserued seuen or eight bare legged, for one otherwise, and in this proportion haue they passed for two or three houres, the rest of their apparell holding suitable conformitie therewithall; yet cannot this people talke, but with his hat on his head, and with his handes by his sides, with action also and wordes, either bebecoming none at all, or at least one in better clothes.

But to leaue the high minds and low fortunes of the *Tuscans*, the great hilles and small commodities of their Countrey, vpon which wee may well turne the Prouerbe, *Parturiunt Montes, exit Adu*; I will discend into their valleyes, which indeed (not to defraude them of their right) are like Gardens, whether you respect the small quantitie of each mans seuerall, or their diligence in their keeping, or to say truth, the varietie of the fruits thereof.

For the first I can auow, that going vp with another English Gentleman to the top of a steep hil, some two miles high right ouer *Prato*, to giue our eye the view of that pleasant valley, we could not discerne any one peece of ground aboue one Acre and a halfe in our opinions, (except the great Dukes pastures, about his Pallace of *Poggio*) all which ground being bare and the hedges Greene with the Vines, gaue a very pleasant and delightfull prospect, resembling verie fitly a Checker table. Now if the good Starres raise one of them to the fortune to bee possessed of one of these garden-plots, and a *Cappanuccia* (a silly shelter couered with Reedes) thereupon yee shal neuer get him from the discourse of his *Villa*, his *Podere*, and his *Entrata*, his Farmes, his Lands, and his Rents; that one would thinke him Lord of some goodly Pallace, and as much Land at the least as a Nag might well pace about in a day; when if wee come to see it, it prooues not God knowes aboue the *Giornata* (a dayes iourney) of a Snail, and she poore worme if taken *domage faisant* in danger to be seized vpon to the Lords vse of the soile; for Snailles, Frogs, Hedg-hogs and such like are accounted among the *Delicatezze* the delicacies of *Italy*.

As for their diligence in digging, setting, sowing, manuring and weeding of their ground, it is such as therewith the Dutch diligence in their Root-grounds may not compare. And lastly for the varietie of those commodities which these Valleyes yeelde, it shall suffice to comprehend them vnder these three heades; Fruit, Herbage, and Graine, with particular mention of such as I remember, howbeit in *Italian* names, because many of them growe not, nor are yet Christened in England.

Fruit.

Fruit.	Herbage.	Graine.
<i>Uue.</i>	<i>Finocchio.</i>	<i>Formento.</i>
<i>Fichi.</i>	<i>Lattuga.</i>	<i>Orzo.</i>
<i>Aranci.</i>	<i>Inuidia.</i>	<i>Segala.</i>
<i>Albicocchi.</i>	<i>Cicerbita.</i>	<i>Miglio.</i>
<i>Pesche.</i>	<i>Borragine.</i>	<i>Sagina.</i>
<i>Mele.</i>	<i>Fiorancio.</i>	<i>Panico.</i>
<i>Limoni.</i>	<i>Aneto.</i>	<i>Fane.</i>
<i>Cedri.</i>	<i>Bietola.</i>	<i>Ceci.</i>
<i>Manderle.</i>	<i>Canolo.</i>	<i>Fagioli.</i>
<i>Noci.</i>	<i>Spinacci.</i>	<i>Piselli.</i>
<i>Albatre.</i>	<i>Basilico.</i>	<i>Riso.</i>
<i>Cotogne.</i>	<i>Radici.</i>	<i>Farro.</i>
<i>Poponi.</i>	<i>Porri.</i>	<i>Gioglio.</i>
<i>Cedrioli.</i>	<i>Carotte.</i>	<i>Mochi.</i>
<i>Cocomeri.</i>	<i>Rape.</i>	<i>Vena.</i>
<i>Zucchi.</i>	<i>Fior di Velluto.</i>	<i>Spelta.</i>
<i>Mele granate.</i>	<i>Nepitella.</i>	
<i>Ceriegi.</i>	<i>Menta.</i>	
<i>Pere.</i>	<i>Cardi.</i>	
<i>Nespole.</i>	<i>Gobbi.</i>	
<i>Sufine.</i>	<i>Selerij.</i>	
<i>Cypolli.</i>	<i>Pastinacchi.</i>	
<i>Agli.</i>		
<i>Mori.</i>		

These are the fruits of the earth whereof they feede, for of others I speake not: and to giue these their due, many of them be very delicate and pleasant; as their *Uua Moscatella*, and *Rimaldesca*, their Figs, Apricocks, Musk-mellons, and such like: howbeit considering either the little time they last, or the small quantity they haue thereof, the benefit is not so great as is imagined; for none of these last named lasteth aboue two moneths, except it be the Grape, whereof some few are hanged vp in the *Palco* roofe, to serue the richer sort in Lent. As for the poorer, their chiefeft foode is Herbage all the yeere through.

Indeed

Indeed for the moneths of August and September, while Grapes be ripe, he keepeth a continuall feast, making them his onely food.

The Vine.

The Vine which without comparison is the greatest commodity of *Tuscany*, if not of *Italy*, hath these vses. Of the Grape they feede, of the iuyce they make Wine; of the shredings they make small bundles, like our Fagots of gaule in *Cambridge*, and sell them for two *quattrini* a peece for firing: of their leaues they feed their Oxen, or else dung their land; and lastly of the stones they feed their Pigeons, which after the Vintage they riddle out of the Grape being dried, and these they sell at 20. *soldi* the *Stajo*.

There are diuers sorts of Grapes, the names of such as I remember are these; *Vua Canaiola*, good either to eat, or for wine; *Passerina* a small Grape, whereof Sparrowes feed, good onely for Wine; *Trebbiana* the best sort of white Grapes for Wine, whereof they make their *Vin Trebbiano Zebibbo*; these are dried for Lent: *Moscatella* with a taste like Muske, not for Wine, but to eate; *Vua grossa* not to eate, but for Wine; *Rancrusta* of it selfe neither to eate, nor for Wine, but a few of these put among a great vessell of Wine, giueth it a colour, for which vse it onely serueth; *San Columbana* and *Rimaldesca* a very delicate Grape, either for Wine, or to eate; *Lugliola*, which hath his name of the moneth of Iuly, wherein it is ripe, better to eat then for Wine; and lastly, *Cerisiana*, named for the taste it hath like a Cheery, better for Wine then to eate.

They haue also as many names for their Figs, the best are the *Brngiotti*, which being needlesse to recount, as also to stand thus particularly vpon all the rest, I will omit to speake: onely in a word I will speake of the Mulberry, for that the mention thereof draweth consequently therewithal the discourse of the Silke worme, which being another of the greatest commodities of *Tuscany* I may not forget.

Silke-
wormes.

In the two moneths of May and Iune this worme laboureth, the rest of the yeere they be onely feedes kept in some warme & close places, where they may neither be endangered by cold
nor

nor thunder, for either of these destroyeth them. When shee hath wrought her selfe into a bottome, they put it into warme water to finde the end thereof, but if they would preserue the worne for seed, then they finde the end without putting the bottome into water (for this killeth the worne) which being found, and wound vpon a Cane, they suffer the worne to lie vpon a wollen cloath, till growing to a Flie it engender with another, whereof come infinite seeds, which are as is said, kept close all the yeare till the beginning of May, when they are laid in the Sunne and so hatched, but for want of heate, and to haue of them betimes, the women will hatch them in their bosomes. So soone as they bee Wormes they haue of Mulberie Mulberie. leaues giuen them, whereof they onely seed, to which purpose are daily great store of trees planted: the leafe is solde at foure *quattrini* the pound. Of this sort of trees the great Duke hath planted such plentie along the bankes of *Arno*, and about the Ditches of Townes and other publike places, as it is probably iudged they will within these few yeares bee annually worth thirtie thousand Duckets. And whereas heretofore the Silke-workers of *Florence*, besides their owne, were vsually wont to buy from *Naples*, *Lombardie* and *Greece*, so much silke as yearly amounted to three hundred thousand Duckets, it is now thought that shortly they shall haue enough of their owne; for yee shall obserue, that they of *Siena* are richer in Lands then they of *Florence*, and therefore trade lesse in all Mechanicall professions: *I sanesi ricchi d' entrata, i fiorentini ricchi per industria*: which is the reason that the *Florentines* exceed the other so farre herein: insomuch as it is thought here are yearly made of *Florence* Rashes to the worth of two Millions of Duckets, & of Silkes and Cloathes of gold and siluer, to the value of three Millions; hence grew this Axiome of *Aristotle*, *The more baraine the soyle, the more rich the Citie*: as he obserued by *Athens* in *Greece*, and wee finde by *Norremburge* in *Germanie*. Good reason they of *Florence* haue to encrease this commoditie, by all possible meanes, without the which I see not how they should be able (not exhausting in few yeares their estate to be

Alume.

Silkes.

Clothes of
gold and
siluer, &c.

releued with the necessarie commodities of other Countries: as Corne from *Sicilia*, Leather from *Barbaria*, Tinne, Lead, Hearing Chauiar, and other such prouision from England and from diuers other places other things as needfull: their State not hauing any Marchandize to spare: except a little Alume to counteruaile this great charge withall. So that their helpe is an industrious paine taking in the making of these silkes, their clothes of gold and siluer, their Rashes, and painting of Leather for Hangings (a trade much vsed among them) howbeit the matter it selfe comming from *Spaine* and other Countries, whereupon they worke, and only the workmanship their own, the aduantage can be but small.

Hearbes &
Rootes.

Flesh.

Another helpe is their egregious & incredible *Parfimonie* in feeding, as also their frugalitie from extraordinary spending, for should they either fare, or exceed in other charges, as we doe in this Countrey, it were impossible but their state should be ruined.

Concerning Herbage, I shal not need to speake, but that it is the most generall food of the *Tuscan*, at whose table a Sallet is as ordinarie, as Salt at ours; for being eaten of all sorts of persons, and at all times of the yeare: of the rich because they loue to spare; of the poore, because they cannot choose; of many Religious, because of their vow, of most others because of their want: it remaineth to belecue that which themselues confesse; namely, that for euery horse-load of flesh eaten, there is ten cart loades of hearbes and rootes, which also their open Markets and priuate tables doe witnesse, and whereof if one talke with them fasting, he shall haue senceible feeling.

But for the better prooffe of the little flesh here spent, it shall not be amisse to remember what the Chancellor of *Prato* told me concerning this matter, who seemed by his discourse a man of good vnderstanding, & who ought by his office to haue the knowledge hereof very familiar; vpon some conference with him had about the great Dukes impositions and *Gabell* which he had in that state, hee told me among diuers other matters, which shall be remembered hereafter, that he had out of *Prato* & the precincts therof, a thousand Duckets *communibus annis* for the

the flesh there eaten, at the rate of five *denari* the pound, for so much he hath. Now if we reduce Duckets to *denari* (which are the fourth part of a *Quatrino*) and deuide that number by five, we shall finde the number of pounds of flesh eaten there, after the rate of twelue ounces to the pounds (for so is their weight of all things whatsoever) which summe by the rule of three we may reduce to pounds English of sixteene ounces, and then deuiding by fourteene, know how many Stone is there eaten in a yeare. According to which computation wee shall finde 18000. Stone: the people there being, as is alreadie said 16000. persons; so that there is little more then a Stone a peece for the yeare: a proportion which in Newgate-market, and S. Nicholas-shambles will hardly be beleued.

Pythagoras found by the dimension of the foot the perfect *Ritratto* of *Hercules*, & *Phidias* of *Athens*, found by the paw of the Lion, the true proportion of the whole bodie: so by this small store of flesh spent in *Prato*, may well be conceiued what proportion is spent in the whole state of *Tuscany*. It may here not impertinently be remembred (speaking of flesh) of a kind of meate which the *Italian* hath out of *Barbaria*, howbeit in no great quantitie, which they call *Micissa*, it is a powder made of Beefe dried and sold in their shops; for the nature of the flesh of *Africk* being such not to take Salt, (the *Alarbaes* of that Countie) dwelling in tents, which they alwayes remooue when their cattle haue eaten vp the pasture, to some other place, doe bake their flesh in Ouens so drie, till it may bee beaten to powder, which done, they barrell it vp, & carry with them for a kind of very good food. And I haue heard also that the *Tartars* bring of this into the warres, wherof they feed, and wherewith putting about two handfuls of it into water, they giue their horses, which without any other prouinder keepeth them fat & lustie.

As concerning their graine in *Tuscany*, it is very much in kind & very little in quantity: wherof most years they haue too sensible feeling, & are supplied out of other places, as *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, & sometimes *England* & the East-countries: they haue of Wheat more then either Rie or Barley, yet neither sufficient:

as for their *Sagina*, *Panico*, *Miglio*, *Surgo Turco*, and such like they are fine names, but make but course meale and bread only for the poorer sort, (who might they not want thereof) would thinke their market much amended.

Haruest.

Their haruest is in *Inne*, they mowe their Wheat and Rie, & reape their Barley, quite contrary to the common course in England: they cut their corne while it is somewhat greene, I take it, lest it should shill; they suffer it afterwards to stand in shocks till it be well withered and dried, then making a flore on the ground where it grew they presently thresh it; & sticke vp the Straw for their necessarie vses, the same ground which hath carried this crop if it bee in heart is againe presently tilled, and sowed with *Miglio*, *Panico*, *Sagina*, or some pulse or other, which againe they reape in September. They measure their corne by the *Stajo*, as we ours by the strike or Bushe l, it containeth in weight fifty five pounds, at twelue ounces the pound. And as we measure our land by the Acre, so they theirs by the *Staioro*, which taketh his name of the *Stajo*: because one of these parcels of Land, if it be on the hilles, will aske a *Stajo* of corne to seed it, otherwise in the valleyes euery measure will ordinarily seed foure *Straiora*, I suppose that sixe of these make one of our Acres. The Country-man will stirre of them (as we call it) eightene with his two yoke of Oxen; the one yoke feeding while the other laboureth in one day. Hee hath for his labour foure *Crazie* a peece, which is three-pence sterling; so that he and his beasts earne some foure shillings six-pence sterling the day: how this agreeth with our rate in England, I cannot say, I went not out so good a husband. The *staioro* doth ordinarily yeelde seuen and eight *staja* crop, which is little short of the proportion of foure quarters an Acre.

Soile.

The nature of the soile is generally light and sandy. laid in small bridges like the fields of *Norfolke* which as I take it, argueth the lightnesse. But by reason of the Cities & great Townes neare and the number of people, it is much forced, and made more fruitfull. For there are those who all their life time doe nothing but with their Asse go vp and downe the cities, gathering

vp the dung in the streets, and carrying it to the land of those with whom they haue bargained, paying out of euery Asses burthen one *quattrino* to the Duke before they passe the gates, but this is a discourse for another place.

It remaineth to speake of the Salt, another commodity which they haue here in *Tuscany* in some resonable manner. It is very white and good, much better then that of the Churches Salt, which hath almost the colour of Saw-dust, or that of *Liguria*, which is little better. The two places from whence they haue this commodity, is the City of *Grossetta* in the *Maremma*, and the pits not farre from the Citie of *Volterra*: howbeit they make of it at these pits in greater measure; where it is reported, are daily made throughout the yeere twenty foure *Moggie*, euery of these measures being foure and twenty *Staja*, that is of our measure some sixteene strike a peece: so that there are daily made 48. quarters, They know when it is sufficiently boiled by the throwing in of an Egge, for if it stick, then is it not yet perfect, but if it swimmeth (*a galla*) then they boile it no longer. There are not farre hence (may I digresse so farre) waters of such a scalding and sulphurous nature, as if a Dog, or such like creature be tied to a rope and throwne therein for the space of a quarter of an houre, yet pull out nothing but the bare bones. And true it is, that the aire here abouts sometimes of the yeere is so contagious, as the inhabitants abandon their homes. The place being so dangerous, I will dwell no longer vpon the discourse thereof, but returne to the Salt-pits, out of which the great Duke maketh no small benefit considering he buyeth it at one *quattrini* the pound, and selleth it againe at twelue, and in some parts of his State at fifteene, which beeing bought at this rate commeth to two duckets the *Stajo*: Howbeit it is said of some, that it costeth him five *quattrini* the pound, which I rather belecue, and so his gaine is but two third parts. Sure I am that there is a *Bando* vpon a great penalty, that none presume to buy but of his officers onely. And seeing heere is mention made of the great Dukes impositions vpon Sale, I will also annex his gaine raised by Wheate, though I must confesse their

Wheat in-
groffed.

place more proper when I shall speake of his Reuenew.

After the *Raccolta* (haruest) when wheate is at the cheapest, a note is taken of euery mans particular croppe, how much hee hath, what will seed his ground; and serue his house; the rest the officers will buy at the price of the Market; hee is not (as I take it) directly forced to sell it: but a *Bando* is sent forth, that no man shall buy, and so by consequent, because he must needs haue money, with an vnwilling willingnesse he is content they shall haue it. This is bought vnder pretence to haue the Citties well stored, whether it is carryed into the great Dukes Granaries, in which places for any accident either of dearth or of warre, (though for the one the countrey is well secured) heere is very good store to be found. It was reported in the *Magizini* (store-houses) at *Pisa* when I was there, there was no lesse then one hundred and fiftie thousand *Stia*. And it was likewise holden for certaine, that some yeares of plentie, he buieth eight or nine hundreth thousand, at the rate commonly of foure or foue *Liuers* the *Stia*, (a *Liu* is nine-pence sterling) and selleth it againe as this yeere he did for aboue ten. Now by buying such an infinite Masse, and selling it at such a rate, the gaine is easily computed to be almost as many Duckets as were *Stia* bought. His Subiects will tel vs of a Millions gaine some yeere, but that were infinite. Now lest when the new Corne comes into his Granaries, he should not vent the old, as being fustie, or hauing some other fault, a *Bando* is sent out, that the Bakers shall bake no other. There is another inconuenience stranger then this, a case wherein a man may not serue himselfe of his owne, which had it not beene told me by a Gentleman *Sanese* of good credit, I should hardly haue beleueed, much lesse haue aduentured to aduertise thereof. If a Gentleman of *Siena* haue a *Villa* in the Territorie of *Mont' Alama*, neare by; and therein good store of Wheate to serue his turne for the maintenance of his house in *Siena*, and whether, it may be with little cost brought, as not being farre off, and where perhaps hee cannot well spare money to buy of others: notwithstanding he cannot be suffered to bring of his own to his house, but must there take of the
great

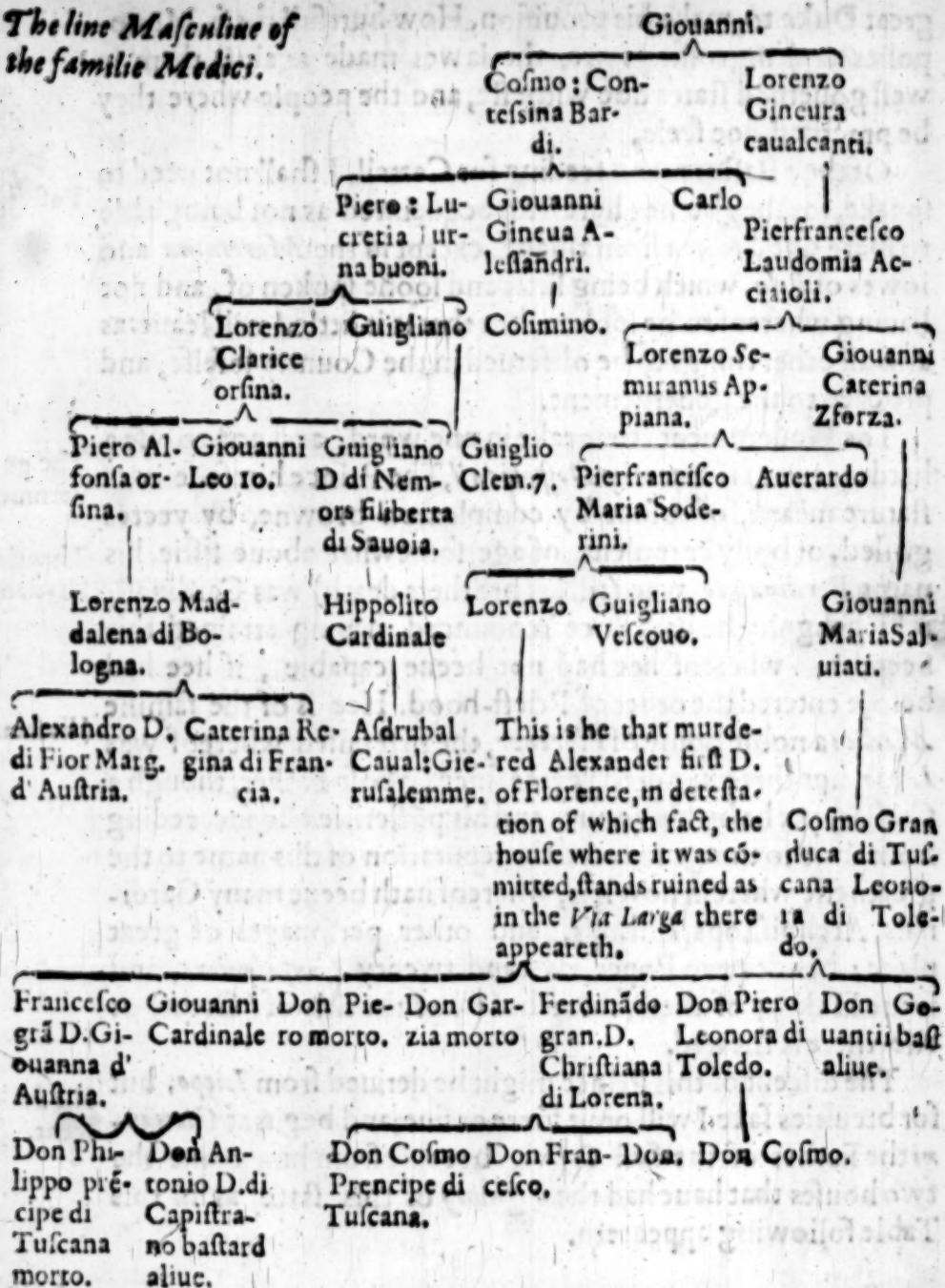
great Duke to make his prouision. How hurtfull these Monopolies and ingrossings are, the lawes made against them in well gouerned states doe witnessse, and the people where they be practised doe feelee.

Of their Pastures and feeding for Cattell, I shall not need to speake, for they be not herewith acquainted as not being able to spare one *Staiora* from tillage, except in the *Maremma* and lowes of *Pisa*, which being little and soone spoken of, and not hauing whereof to be spoken, but that it is little, I will leaue: as also all other things to be obserued in the Country it selfe, and proceed to the gouernement.

The Gouernment (to speake in one word, and not to vse a harder terme) is meerely *Despoticall*, The Prince himselfe is of stature meane, of colour by complexion browne, by yeeres grised, of body corpulent, of age somewhat aboue fittie, his name *Ferdinando*, who (till his brothers death) was Cardinall, which dignity he hath since renounced, hauing attained this Scepter, whereof hee had not beene capable, if hee had before entered the order of Priest-hood. Hee is of the familie *Medici* a noble house of *Florence*, the first raised whereof was *Lippo*, not three hundred yeeres since (whose Father, though a Colliar) yet he by his vertues and his posteritie also succeeding from time to time, aduanced the reputation of this name to the greatnesse wherein now it is, whereof hath beene many Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other personages of great place; besides two Popes, two and tvenry *Consaloniers*, and foure Dukes: of these, three haue had the title of (Great) as elsewhere is shewed.

The discent of this Prince might be deriued from *Lippo*, but for breuities sake I will omit foure or fiue, and begin at *Giouanni* the Father of the first *Cosmo*, because from him come the two houses that haue had the *Signiory* of this state, as in this Table following appeareth.

The

The line Masculine of
the familie Medici.

The

The discent and issue of the great Duke appearing in this tale it remaineth that I speak of his parentage. His Highnesse matched in the house of *Lorraine*, with *Madama Christina* that Dukes daughter, *Don Cesare d'Este*, Sonne to the base brother of *Alphonso* the second, the duke of *Ferrara*, that now is married to his sister. *Don Virginio Orsini* duke di *Bracciano*, that now with the dutchesse his wife, Sister to the *Cardinal Mont'Alto*, is in Court, is son of another of his Sisters. The Duke of *Montona* married *Madama Leonora* of this house; he hath also neere alliance with the family *Zforza*: And it was said in the Court at my comming from *Linorno*, that *Ranunio Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, should marry *Maria* sister to *Leonora* both daughters to *Francesco* his brother: Howbeit it was afterwards reported that he should marry the sister of *Cardinal Mont'Alto*, neece to *Sixtus Quintus*, (whom since he hath married: and *Maria* is wife to *Henry* the 4. King of *France*.)

His Armes are six Apples or Balles of gold in a field Azure, vnto which some say is added since his obtaining the Scepter, the Armes of *Florence*, the *Flower de Life*. But hauing the authority of one so approued as is *Guicciardine* to the contrary, I rather say with him, that this addition was giuen of speciall fauour to the family *Medici*, by the house of *France*, by whom in his first booke page 16. it is plaine, that when *Charles* the eight entended his voyage for *Naples*, he sought (as a league much importing that action) the friendship of the *Florentine* State, and that as he there saith, if they would not ioyne with him in the seruice, yet at least they would grant him passage for his armie, and victuals for his money: whereto he laboured by letters both the State in generall, & *Piero Medici* in particular, in which his letters to *Medici* he putteth him in minde of the many fauours and honours done by *Lewis* the eleuenth to *Lorenzo* his father, and to his ancestors: that they had giuen molte dimostrazioni per conseruation della grandezza d'essi. Many proofes of willingnesse to preserue the *Medicies* greatnesse: and that they had honoured in testimonio de beneuolenza l'insegna loro con l'insegne proprie della casa di *Francia*, in shew of their

loue, their armes with theirs of *France*.

His stile.

Concerning his Stile, it is to be obserued, that since the gouernment came to the hands of this family, it hath altered foure times: for first, when by *Clement* the 7. his meanes, who was a *Medici*, *Alexandro* had obtained the signiory of *Florence*, he was entituled Prior perpetuall: after that marching in the house of *Austria*, he was created Duke of *Florence*. The title yet changed twice more in the person of *Cosmo*, father to this great duke now liuing for hauing vnited the States of *Florence* and *Siena*, he was intituled *Dux Florentia & Senarum*: and after by *Pius Quintus* he was created *Magnus Dux Hetruria* for some speciall seruice done to the Church.

This title of Duke is not of any great antiquity in *Italy*; for although *Titus Livius* speaketh of *Duces*, yet he meaneth Capitaines of souldiers, or rather such as had the leading of an Armie by the Senates appointment, and not such as haue absolute authoritie ouer citties and countries. The first bringer in of this name into *Italy* was *Longinus* King of the *Lombards*, one hundred sixtie fixe yeares after the declination of the *Romane* Empire. By him at the first were created foure, which bore their title of these places; *Benueentum*, *Turine*, *Fruily*, and *Spoletto*: At which time also were instituted the two Marquesatts of *Ancona* and *Trenis*, which still liue in the names, though dead in the persons that should haue them: and it should seeme in some sort, this title of Marquesse was better then that of Duke. For in their language (saith *Biondo*) it signifieth *Perpetuum Magistratum*, because they might leaue their title and Signiorie to their heires, which the Dukes could not doe, but by the leaues of the Kings of *Lombardie*. Some say this word of *Marques* is deriued from the *French* (*Marque*) which signifieth a Prouince; as that a *Marques* should signifie the President of a Prouince. Others thinke it is deriued of the *Dutch* word (*March*) among whom this title is in great honor, & signifieth a *Signor* ouer a country to some limit or mark for so *Alimeri* in his *Scholia* vpon *Cornelius Tacitus* interpreteth. As for this title of great Duke, there neuer was any before in *Italy*, nor I thinke in *Europe*, but he of *Musconia*:

Of

Of Dukes there be diuers in this countrie of *Italy*, as the Duke^s of *Ferrara*, *Muntana*, *Parma*, *Vrbino*; besides foure and twentie in the Kingdome of *Naples*.

Concerning his claime and right to the Crown, it is beyond His title. the compasse of a bare relation (as this is) to dispute how good it is, but rather to discourse what it is, neither to determin how iustly his Predecessors got it, but how lineally it is deuolued frō them to him. The meanes how this house rose to such superiority in a cōmon-wealth, where was alwaies maintained such equallity, is by the *Florence* historie easily discerned to be their popularity & insinuatue stealing into the peopls good opiniōs; ouer whom they oftentimes in cases of insolencies and oppressions by the nobler sort, vndertooke the Patronage, & became as it were the *Tribunes* of the people in *Rome*, or the *Avogadors del Commune* in *Venice*, who (as I take it) are *Advocates & Intercessors* for the citizēs, preferring their suits to the courts. Howbeit there is a difference, for this is an office instituted, that was a fauor encroched vpon, this is by law limited, that was by mans nature so infinite, as it staid not running on this plausible race till the wished goale was gotten. *Venice* hath been wise in this case, where it hath beene danger for a great man to deserue too well, and be loued too much; for which cause only (as in their *Annals* appeareth) som of thē haue lost their liues, fearing what this popularity of theirs might effect, if it were put to the triall: & holding belike that principal good in a cōmonwealth, which is a ground in matters of the Church, which saith, *Melius est perire unū quā unione*) It is better one perish then vnitie: factions being as dāgerous in the one, as schisms in the other. To which purpose *Athens* and *Rome* can affoord many fit examples & indeed so many, as it were needles to recount, either of that *Scilla* and *Marins*, *Cesar* and *Pompeins*, *Ottanins* and *Antonius*; or any other particulars, eyther of the one state or the other. And but that the (colours Noble and Popular) were in seuentie fixe in good time vnitied in the citie of *Genoa*; there had not wanted at this day an example in that Citie also, eyther of the familie, *Doria*, *Spinoli*, *Grimaldi*, or *Fieschi*, as by *Oberto Foglietta*, a very iudiciall writer of these times is proued.

But to returne to the history of the family *Medici*, it is to be vnderstood, that *Lorenzo* grand-childe to the first *Cosmo*, who for his well-deseruing of the Common-wealth was fir-named *Pater Patrie*, and vncle to *Clement* the 7. who for deserts cleane contrary merited the title of *Ruina Reipub.* He, I say, after the death of his brother *Guigliano*, who was slaine by the families *Saluiati* and *Pazzi* gouerned the State of *Florence*, with all wisdom, grauity and moderation, without respect of any particular aduancement of his house, but only of the weale publike. To him had all the States and Princes of *Italy* recourse in all their matters of controuersie to be ended, and of counsell to be gnided: insomuch, as in his daies, *Florence* seemed another *Delphos*, and he another Oracle: as he would, were all officers chosen, all families preferred, and all common actions of the State carried. So that in *Genoa* the *Adorni* and *Frigosi* were by the people exalted, to curbe the vnbridled insolencies of the *Colore Nobile*: as in *Siena* the *Petrucci* were made great to restrain the disordered humors of some aspiring Citizens: as in *Perugia* the *Baglioni* were aduanced to empeach the proud desieges of the *Raspati* of whose proceedings the City grew ieaious; and as in *Bollogna* the *Bentiuogli* were preferred to extraordinary honours and authority, through the hate they bore their nobles: So likewise the first rayising of this family *Medici*, was their plausible carriage toward the meaner and baser rancke of Citizens, by whom they were chosen for a head against the greater and more powerfull sort. And not contented with this prehemineney, their desires rested not: vntill (as in the person of *Alexander* shall appeare) one of their house came to be Duke of so great a State, brother to a King of *France* and sonne in law to an Emperor. So ordinarie and naturall a thing it is in the minde of man, in matter of ambition and greatnesse, to keepe no mediocritie, that when yee giue him the authoritie and commaund ouer few, and in small matters, hee cannot lift his vast thoughts within the limits prescribed, but is so carried beyond himselfe with a desire to rule, as without consideration either of vertue by which, or of friends by whom, he was ad-
uanced.

uanced; he is violently driuen with the streame of that his ambitious passion, to oppresse aswell those by whose meanes, as those for whose cause he was at first aduanced. Which ambitious humour of raigning (though it rained not in this good *Lorenzo* who with the reputation of a great wise man, and no lesse good Cittizen dyed in the yeare 1491. with whom saith *Guicciardine* dyed the glorie and peace of *Italy*;) yet it made the way to thoe garboiles and troubles which his childrens greatnesse (by his desert) and aspiring mindes (by their owne corruption) did afterwards cause in *Florence*. For leauing behind him three soones, *Piero*, *Gionanni*, and *Guigliano*; the first succeeded his father, but not with like moderation in that authoritie wherein his fathers vertues left him in: but affecting a lordly superioritie and sole gouernment, and as my *Anthour* saith; *Con consiglio diuittamente contrario à consigli paterni nè communicato cò cittadini principali*, with a counsel quite contrarie to that of his father, and kept still secret from the chiefe Cittizens; hee sought to carrie all matters after the vnbrideled sway of his owne affections, so greatly to the dislike of the Cittizens, and to the prejudice of their libertie, as hee with his brothers were worthily banished, who after many attempts to bee reimpatriate, yet still repulsed, were notwithstanding at the last by the meanes of *Ferdinando* King of *Aragon* and *Naples* restored (I meane the two younger brothers, for *Piero* was now dead) *ripigliando quell' antica grãdezza de Medici ma gouernandola più imperiosamente, è con arbitrio più assoluto di quello che si soleua: taking vpon the againe the former greatnes of the Medici, & carrying it more lordly, and with a more peremptorie swing then they were wont, Guicciard. lib. 11. cap. 318.* This restoring of the *Medici*, and subiection of the Citie, was in the yeare 1512. after they had beene eightene yeares banished, in which lordly course of carrying the selues, they continued fisteene yeares, till 1527. when *Clement* the Pope being in danger at *Rome*, and fled into the Castle *S. Angelo*, the *Florentines* taking aduantage of the time, attempted the recouering of their liberty; Howbeit at the Popes instance, the Emperour *Charles* the fift made

Alexander Medices Prior perpetuall. And after in 35. (as hath beene before said, speaking of his Stile) hauing matched in the house of *Austria*, he created him duke, causing an emblematical statue to be made of Brasse in the chiefe *Piazza* of the towne, with this inscription in the name of the Emperour, *Te fili si quis Leserat, ultor ero.* My Sonne I will reuenge thee, if any dare to hurt thee, as a threat to the City if they offered to recouer their liberty. This *Alexander* first Duke of *Florence*, being murdered by his cosen *Lorenzo*, and hauing no issue, the gouernment fel to *Cosmo* son to *Gionanni de Medici* & *Maria Saluati*, heire in the next line, & Father to this great duke that now liueth, to whom by the death of his elder brother *Francesco*, this state is diuolued

His Court.

Concerning his Court, it is the generall opinion, that it is greater then of a Duke, lesse then of a King; which compared with other Dukes of *Italy* is true: howbeit if it bee considered either what number of persons are therein, or what prouision there is made, I thinke it may hardly compare with the houses of the Nobility of *England*, comprehending in this nūber none but such as liue and haue their diet in Court, whereof there be very few. For this Court doth yeeld two sorts of courtiers: *della bocca, & della Casa*, (of the mouth and of the house) that is, of such as feede there, and of such as retaine only. Of the first sort is the grear Duke himselfe, the Duke *Bracciano* their Dutches-
ses, their children, & some few seruants besides, to the number, as I haue credibly heard, not aboue foure and twenty: of the other sort are other officers of Court, which notwithstanding liue at their own priuate tables, as *Monsignior Puteo* Archbishop of *Pisa*, and more to his Highnes, by whose counsell he is especially aduised, *Il Signor Piero Usimbaldi*, *il signor Canalliere Concino*, *il Signor Belisario Vinta*, *il Signor Canalliere Sergnidi*, *il signor Piero Conti* his Secretaries, & diuers others his officers. To these if we adde *Don Gionanni* & *Don Antonio*, both *Medici*, the one his brother, the other his Nephue illegitimat, *Il signor Camillo del Monte*, generall of the foot, *Il signor Conte Gherardesca* Colonell of the horse, *Il signor Francesco Montauti*, general of his gallies, besides the *Quarant' Otto*, & diuers other Counts and Nobles of *Florence*, you shall see a very honourable

ble and noble presence.

The order of this discourse requireth that in this place I briefly aduertise of the order of *Santo Stephano*, whereof his Highnes is grand master, which was first instituted by *Cosmo* his father, and confirmed by *Pius Quintus*. But because the ordinances & statutes therof be very many, as well concerning the inuestiture as degradation, & for that there is a booke written thereof intituled *della Religione di Santo Stephano*: I will only remember that the *Gran Maestro* conferreth diuers other offices belonging to this order, and of chiefe account, vpon persons of principall qualitie in his state: as the office of *Gran Comandator*, *Gran Cōtestabile*, and *Gran Priore*. There be three degrees of this order; the first is of *Canallieri guerrieri*, the second are *Ecclesiastici*; the last *Seruienti*. Of the first sort haue beene made (as in their Pallace at *Pisa* appeareth) about one thousand and twenty. The second are Priests and persons of the Church, not so honourble as the former. The last are such as haue baser offices either about the Pallace, or about their lands, and receiue annuall wages for their paines. The *Cognisance* or badge of this order, is a crosse, in forme like that of the Knights of *Malta*, but differing in colour, for that of *Malta* is white, this is red. They are bound to weare it alwayes vpon their vpper garment, which the great Duke himselfe also obserueth. They are bound also to serue at Sea in the *Grand Masters* warres for sixe yeares (as I take it) if need be, whereas they of *Malta* are bound to serue against the Turke all the dayes of their life. The Knights of this order may marry, and hold temporall possessions, which they of *Malta* may not. This order is lineally to discend from the father to the eldest sonne, without any more creation, like the Titles of honours in *England*, vnlesse his father vpon demerit bee formerly degraded. What other priuiledges they haue. in the booke thereof written appeareth, and what vse the *Grand-master* hath of their seruice in all his occasions, is as easily coniectured.

His order
of S. Ste-
phen.

It followeth to speake somewhat of his riches, a matter where- Riches.
of one may discourse by probabilities, but can determine nothing of certaine: for if they which marrie our rich widdowes
in

in *England* be many times deceiued in the reckoning, finding the accompt fall farre short of that the world iudged, and they themselues hoped : how easie a thing is it to erre in the valuing of so great a Prince as the great duke of *Tuscany*? Besides if one should vndertake to write of euery thing he hath scene, & giue it the *Italians* valuation (who in matters of their owne, euer speake *alla larga*) I assure my selfe he should be very much deceiued, and gaine the imputation of a notable Gull for his credulity, & a notorious Bugiarde for his deliery, against which, note his far trauaile neither giues him warrant nor *superfedeas*. I was in a *Florentines* gallery, who hath sometimes beene in our Countrey, where besides one table of Tutch, and three other of Serpentine, Agate, and such like, very curiously wrought and bordered with flowers of their naturall colours (which might be painted for ought I knew:) howbeit he protested they were all the naturall colours of the stone and of the infinite charge it cost to cut so many, before they could finde such as should giue the true lustre of the flower, which surely is there done most liuely : and besides many Statues of Marble, Alabafter & Brasse, he shewed vs a Cupbord of Boxes yet vnfinished (which he said) hath alreadie cost foure and twentiethousand crownes: we see also diuers Medalles, at the least five hundred, which he valued some at twentie and thirtie crownes the peece : for the value of his Cupbord I know not, but for his Medalls I am sure, that in *Venice* a man may buy as good and as Antique of a *Montibansk* for two gazets a peece, which is not two pence sterling. Now if one had swallowed this Gudgion of one hundred and twentie thousand Crownes (for somuch he said these toyes in this Gallerie did cost) he must needs either haue surfered of a fulnesse, or else haue discouered his infirmity by venting it to others.

But to retourne to the great Dukes riches ; in the Gallerie at *Florence* wher is his *Guarda-roba* his Wardrobe, and Armorie, there is very much and massie Plate, with one Cupbord of pure gold, the value I cannot estimate. There is also one Table in making for the Emperour, which hath alreadie cost (they say) twenty

twenty two thousand duckets set with very many & very faire Stones. There is one Deske worth (as they dare affirme) one Milion. There are likewise *Rapiers* with hilts of gold, and in their Pomels, either the *Spheeres* or *Clockes* very curiously wrought. There be swords so artificially made, that they may be throwne out the length of three, and being at the full length it dischargeth a Pistoll : there is the Sword of *Charlemaine* greatly prized. There be Targets which with a Pionne turned make daggers flye out of all sides. There are besides the diuers weapons of most Nations, with many other things for the richnesse and rarenesse worth the remembring, as also the great Dukes chaine of diamonds, and the great Dutchesse's chaine of Pearle which they weare daily, two iewels no doubt of exceeding value : besides all other their iewels & treasures not scene. But the thing which most argueth his Riches, and whereof hee and other Princes haue their daily vses, and whereby they bee valued, is ready Money and Coine ; which the world (and no doubt vpon good reason) iudgeth to be very great : insomuch as the *Neopolitan* calleth him the King of coin: for in their play at *Primero* (their foure sutes of cardes being *Denari, Coppe, Spad, Picche, Coyne, Cuppes, Swords, Pikes*) when (as the manner is) ye aske him for what Carde he pulleth, if he pull for a *Denaro*, hee answereth ; I pull for the great Duke of *Tuscany*. And truely I am of opinion (submitting my selfe to better iudgements) that as in France, there be foure great Riuers farre excelling the rest of that Countrey in generall, and yet one another in some one particular: *Loyre* the greatest, *Rhone* the swiftest, *Sayne* the richest, and *Sone* the swetest. So in *Italy* there are foure great States, aboue all the other without exception, which notwithstanding in some one particular compared together, exceed one another. The Pope greatest in authority, the Kingdome of *Naples* greatest in land-forces ; the *Venetians* mightiest at Sea; and this great Duke mightiest in purse. Of whose present money some let not to say that hee hath thirty millions of Duckets, others talke of fīue and twenty, none vnder twenty ; but how truely, must be left to euery mans pleasure to iudge, as a thing vtterly vnknowne, except wee may guide our coniectures by

this inference which may thus be collected.

Duke *Francisco* in the yeere 1576. reported to the *Venetian* Embassador, that his father *Cosmo* dying, left him in debt eight hundred thousand Duckets : for the payment whereof he was forced to take vp great summes of the *Genoeses*, at vnreasonable interest. Notwithstanding it appeareth by the relation of the said Embassador, that within ten yeeres after he was cleared of that debt, & had imburshed into his coffers siue Millions. It may then be probably argued, that if in ten yeeres there were six millions increase, in twenty yeeres more, there be at least twelue more added. But if it be obiected, that Duke *Francesco* in the terme of those ten yeeres had many hundred thousand duckets, confiscate to his coffers by the treason of *Pucci*, who with his complices had plotted to enuite the Duke, the Cardinall, and *Don Piero* to a feast, and there to murder them all, and so to recouer their liberty; It may hereto be answered that he was likewise a Prince of very great expenses, and that for instance in that very time, he built the Pallace and water-works of *Pratolino*, which cost him at least three hundred thousand duckets. As for this great Duke now liuing, his expences are small for so great a Prince, as by the smal number of them which liue in Court may appeare. And yet euery *Carnenale* time hee retirith himselfe from *Florence*, where is much to be spent to *Pisa*, where is somewhat to be gained : he saith he doth it for the affection hee beareth that towne ; his people say, for the loue he hath to spare ; our English Marchants there, say, it is for loue of their commodities, which about that time arriue, and are bought vp by his officers.

It is likewise knowne, hee hath great summes of money in banke, which must needs bring in their yeerely gaine, besides three-score thousand duckets entrat, which he yerely detaineth from his brother *Don Piero*, who lueth in *Spaine*, & the gaine of Wheat before remembred; all which with his yeerely reuenuue may make one strougly perswaded, that his ready mony is little lesse then that which is iudged of them, which rate it at the highest. I should surely thinke is an incredible masse, but that I haue read for certaine, that in the yeere 1592. the ready money of

of *Amurath*, father to *Mahomet* the third, the great *Turke* now living was at the least fifty millions. And although the disproportion of their Entrates may seeme much to weaken the force of this comparison: yet I see not, considering on the other side as great difference in their expenses, but that it may carry some good shew of likelyhood. To conclude this point, it appeareth, that the great Duke hath two Reuenues, whereby he groweth rich; that is, great impositions, and great sparing (for sparing is a great reuenee.) There yet remaineth two other meanes to make him absolutely rich, the loue of his subiects, and their priuate wealth, for the wealth of the Subiect is the wealth of the king, and where the people is rich, the Prince is not poore. But sure it is that he hath neither the one, nor they the other.

It is to be thought that he which hath money such store wanteth no forces (for money is called the sinewes of warre) I will therefore to this short discourse of his Riches, adde in a word what is thought of his forces. His strength at Sea is not great, for hee hath not aboue six Galleys, neither hath had since the ouerthrowe that the *Turkes* gaue him at the little Ilands *Formiche*, where hee lost two of his best Galleys and one Galleon. In these that remaine he hath besides Munition ordinary, (that is eight or ten a peece,) about two hundred Souldiers & eight hundred slaues. Hee hath also much good Munition, and a competent number of Souldiers in his Fortes of the *Porto Ferrario*, in the Island of *Elba*: of which place his Father was inpatronized by the Lord thereof, the *Signor di Piombino*, with the consent of *Charles* the fift: both because the Patron thereof was not able to defend it against the *Corsari* which daily robbed and spoyled it: as also, because for the small defence it had, it might haue fallen into the hands of the *Turkes*, and so by reason of the Scite (standing very fitly for such a purpose) it might haue preiudiced the whole country of *Italy*. Notwithstanding all the reueneue of the Isle is left free to the Lord of *Piombino*, & vnder his command are all other the towns & vnfortified places. In this Port which is capable of what fleet soeuer, do all ships that trade from the *Leuat* westward & contrariwise

His forces.

Porto Ferrario.

touch as in a place as necessary, fit, and secure, as are the *Tersores* to the *Spaniards* sailing to the West-Indies: so that if hee with this Isle had also a good number of Galleis and a purpose to offend, he might very easily infest all the Seas vpon the coast of *Barbary*, vpon *Prouence*, *Liguria*, *Tuscania*, and all that side of *Italie*, and in a manner make himselfe Lord of those Mid-land Seas. He hath also (as is reported) one hundred Souldiers, and good Artillery in a Fort he holdeth at *Marseilles* called *Castledite*; by the sufferance of which peece the *Genoeses* ship was in *January* last taken (wherof the parties greued complained lately to the great Duke) where besides foure hundred *Spaniards* put to the Galleis, was also found foure hundred thousand crowns, sent thither from *Spaine*. He hath also in those thirty Castles & Forts before spoken of (wherein are garrisons but very small, as in some fifty, and in others five and twenty, in others not aboue fifteene, and in some fewer, by reason of the good rearmes he standeth in with his neighbour Princes, or at least by the good fauour of the time, for that they bee otherwise diuerted, that would be busie, to the number of sixe hundred in all. He hath likewise in all his sixteene Cities, garrisons of souldiers more or lesse, as in the Citadell *S. Miniato*, and the new Fortresse at *Florence* one hundred & twenty, in *Pisa* fifty, in *Siena* twenty five, in *Linorno* two hundred and twenty, &c. In all which places, he is said to be very well prouided of Munition, Armour, weapons, Powder, shot, and such like military prouision: the certaine quantity wherof I cannot certainly enforme because, but vpon especiall fauour, and by commandement, they dare not let one come into their Forts. And to write what others say, were to erre himselfe and seduce others. I was by good meanes in the Castle at *Linorno*, where I told of field peeeces three-score and foure, whereof (they told mee) that twelue were canon, and demi-canon; by which proportion it is to be coniectured that he is very well furnished.

These Souldiers of whom is already spoken, are all in pay; he hath also a *Ressigna*, his trained Souldier (as wee in *England* call them) about the number wherof there is a great difference between that which is writtē by way of relation, & that which

is by way of conference reported. Relations (thē which nothin is more false) write that there be thirtie sixe thousand : but I talked with a Captain, who hath the mustering & charge of three hundred within the precincts of *Prato*, (then whom no man should know better) and he tolde me but of fifteene thousand. In this diuersitie of report I haue no other guide to direct mee, to whether of these I should giue credit, then by a rateable proportion of the part with the whole, to inferre whether of these two cometh nearer to the truth, in this manner. It is now certainly holden, that the number of people in the States of *Florence* and *Siena* vnited together, are about eight hundred thousand, and that they which reckon six in the one and five in the other, and so make one million and one hundred thousand, do somewhat ouershoot the true number, much more they that reckon 800000. in the state of *Florence*, and 600000. in that of *Siena*, not considering that the people of *Siena* and *Pisa* with their precincts are much decayed, as hath already beene partly said. Now then if sixteene thousand people (the number of the within the *distretto*) the precincts (of *Prato*) do allow the great Duke a *Rassegna* of three hundred, which I haue seene foure times trained (for they muster and are exercised once a moneth throughout his state) then eight hundred thousand will allow fifteene thousand after that rate. But if it be answered that vpon the frontiers of the church and in the *Maremma*, there is a greater *Rassegna* then in other places, and so the proportion not to hold, I reply to answer this with sufficient recompence, there is no mustering of Souldiers nor any *Rassegna* in the cittie of *Florence*, which is a good part of the whole. So that of this I am sure, that in *Florence*, *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Pisa*, & their territories, there are not in all about two thousand two hundred: I should therefore thinke it strange and very disproportionate, that there should be about twenty thousand in all. It may bee demanded why they of *Florence* are not trained aswell as the rest; the reason is, *manet alia mente reposita tyrannis Papa, & consensus Imperatoris*, Pope *Clements* vsurping, and *Charles* the fifth consent, sticks still in their stomackes. For they haue not yet forgot that their fathers were free & commanders ouer others; & therefore

they are not onely preuented of this meanes which peraduenture at sometime or other they might take, but they be also debarted the hauing of any Armes in ther houses, or of wearing any weapon by their sides, except he bee a Knight of the order, or a trained Souldier, or an officer, or one that hath especial licence for the same, whereof there be many Gentlemen in *Florence*, according to the fauour they haue with the Prince, and as he is secured of them. The like is through the whole state, in so much as many will sue to be trained Souldiers (a thing which with vs they would gladly auoide) because they might be priuiledged to weare weapon, but especially (which is also a freedom granted to men of this profession) because they might not be arested for debt.

His forces at Sea and Land are these already remembred, beside one hundred Launces which hee keepeth in *Siena*, and some fiftie light horse in his owne stables at *Florence*, besides foure hundred more in other places of his State.

His entrate

His *Entrate*, is by diuerse men diuersly estimated, some say one Million and a halfe, others one Million and a hundred thousand, and some there be that say it is as much as both these summes. Howsoeuer it may be thought that the least of these is a great matter for so small a State, whether wee call it small in regarde of the circuite, the number of the Pople; or lastly the barrenesse of the soile, out of which the Subiects wealth and Princes Taxes should be raised. This may well be prooued by comparing this state with that of the Duke of *Ferrara*, which is not much lesse in continent then this of the great Duke. and the soile generally much more fruitful, yet is the reuenue of this great Duke almost thrice as much as that other. An apparant argument of the ouer-charging of his people by Taxations and impositions more then their neighbours: yet are the subiects of the state of *Venice* lesse charged then these, & they vnder the Duke of *Parma* least of all; onely they of the kingdome of *Naples* haue as much cause to complaine as the *Tuscans*, or any other subiects in *Italy* whatsoeuer. As for the trueth of those three opinions, which of them hath best interest therein I dare not determine; I will onely adde to these generalities such

parti-

particulars as are commonly knowne, and of all confessed, with some others specialties which are of most men either purposely (because vncertaine) omitted, or else negligently related.

The opinion of them that rate his Reuenue at 1100. thousand Duckets is directed by this particular:

He hath say they, out of the *Gabell* or Toll of the

Gates of <i>Florence</i> .	100.	} thousand Duckets.
<i>Dogana</i> or custome house at <i>Florence</i> .	100.	
<i>Gabel</i> vpon Salt through that State	120.	
Vpon Corne through that State	120.	
Vpon flesh through that State	80.	
Vpon <i>Dowers</i> and Bargaines.	70.	
Vpon condemnations and Suites in law.	65.	
<i>Pisa</i> and <i>Linorno</i> yeeld yearly	70.	
<i>Pistoia</i> yeeldeth yearly	60.	
<i>Arezzo</i> yearly	20.	
<i>Valterra</i> yearly yeeldeth	15.	}
<i>Cortona</i> yeeldeth	20.	
<i>Monte Pulciano</i> yeeldeth yearly	10.	
<i>Fiesole</i> a desolate Citie yeeldeth	2.	
<i>Colle</i> a Citiy of fiue yeares old yeeldeth.	3.	
The Citie and State of <i>Sienna</i> .	240.	

All which together make the summe of 1095000. which within fiue thousand Duckets agreeth with the said sum.

This account will appeare not to swarue much, if wee examine each particular. First for the Toll of the gates of *Florence* and custome out of the *Dogana*, it is apparently knowne that the great Duke lets it out at two hundred thousand Duckets the yeare at the least, reckoning withal of all other impositions one fourth part of that whole State, which is probably supposed to be gathered hereout. There is paid also throughout the whole state, eight in the hundred for marriages, as if the womans portion be a thousand Duckes, the Prince hath therout eighty. The like proportion is paid for buying and selling of houses or Land. But the letting of houses or Land paieth the tenth: for Cattell bought and sold hee hath also a *guilio*, that is six-pence Sterling in euery two Duckets, and though the Beastes bee bought

Burdello.

bought and sold twice in one houre, he hath still after the same rate. Furthermore, besides his impositions vpon the Bankes, he hath at euery alienation eight in the hundred; that is, when the father or possessor dieth, the sonne or next heires payeth after this rate for his patrimony left him. He hath also an entrate out of the *Burdello* stewes, which is thought at the least thirtie thousand crownes a yeare in *Florence* onely, there being some eight thousand Curtizans in the towne, these pay euery moneth a liuer nine-pence sterling to the great Duke, because heere the market is somewhat quicke, though in *Siena* they pay but a *guiglio* monthly, they pay also a *Linier*, a moneth not to were the yellow list, the badge of their trade, if they stand out of the *Burdello*, if they be priuiledged to goe to any mans lodging, or if they weare mans apparel, for each of these priuiledges they pay *Gibell* also. The Iewes here also from fifteene yeares vppward, pay two Duckets the yeare.

Bread.

Concerning the *Gabel* vpon bread, true it is, that he hath vpon euery Stay that is ground two *Crazie*, three halfe-pence of ours, so that by this rate hee hath of euery quarter of our measure, the summe of eighteene-pence of our money. If then it be supposed that euery one in the state of *Florence* eateth twelue *Staiia* a yeare, which is as before a proportion ordinary, the summe will not much differ from the rate of one hundred and twentie thousand Duckets.

Flesh.

Concerning the flesh it is to bee vnderstood, that the great Duke hath for euery pound that is eaten five *denari*, whereof 20. make a *Crazia*, so that he hath of euery Stone that is eaten of our weight, the value of three-pence of our monie.

He hath vpon euery pound of Salt spent, ten *quattrini* gaine, that is three halfe-pence of our monie: so that after the rate of foure and twentie *Moggia* the day, for three hundred dayes in a yeare, allowing the other sixtie five for holy dayes, he gaines two hundred and sixteene thousand, seuen hundred sixtie one Duckets, whereof allowing almost one halfe for the State of *Siena*, because there hee hath no imposition vpon Salt, the sum will accord very neerely with the particular abouesaid.

As

As for the *Dogana* of *Lynorno*, being the Gate as it were through which all marchandize passe into those parts of *Italie*: and for *Siena*, being the roade from *Venice* and *Florence* to *Rome*, it is to be credibly supposed, that both the one and the other yeeld no lesse benefit to the Prince then is aboue rated; the like is to be thought of the other Citties.

*Dogana o
Lyuorno.*

But ouer and besides al this, it is to be considered, that in the whole state of *Siena* he hath a *Gabel* by the Pole, as wee call it in *England*, that is vpon euery head a certaine rate, (I thinke eighteene-pence) besides an allowance for feeding of their cattell, whereof in this State is reasonable good store, much more then in that of *Florence*, whose wants it supplieth, especially of Swine, by reason of their great store of Mast, for which they pay halfe a ducker the Swine, whereas in times past they paid but one *guiglio*: they pay also for the killing eighteene-pence, and other such like impositions. Infomuch as talking with two Gentlemen of *Siena* concerning these matters, men of good quality and experience, they auowed that the great Duke had as good as a Ducker vpon euery mastfed Swine, before he come to the owners table. They farther alleaged, that howsoeuer they were exempt from the *Gabell* of the *Macina* as they call it, that is, of paying for their Meale, Salt, and Flesh, yet notwithstanding all things considered, their burthen was no whit lighter then their neighbours of the other State that paid all these. To which purpose they protested, that of their *Villa* which they let to halfe to the *Contadino*, (the labourer) there fell not in the reckoning (all taxes, tallages and impositions defalked) aboue one third to themselves, another to the Farmer, and the rest to the Prince. A strange proportion we may thinke, that liue in such blessed happinesse, and far beyond all Taxes, Subsidies and Priuy-seales whatsoeuer. But what compare I the heavy *Dynasty* of small *Tuscany*, with the flourishing Monarchy, and happy gouernment of great *Britany*.

*Gabel by
Pole.*

He hath also no small matter of the *Camere Locande*, lodgings for strangers, and the Innes in the State; of some forty, of others fifty, and of some fourescore Duckets, euery third yeere:

*Camere
Locande,
and Inne-
keepers.*

he hath also in some places his Bake-houses, where the Inne-keepers are enioyned to take their bread of him. Though this exaction be so great vpon the Innes at *Florence*, and in the road way to *Rome*, notwithstanding in *Pisa* the yoke is not so heavy there the manner of raising the *Gabel* is thus. At euery three yeeres end, all the Inne-keepers in the City are to appeare at a Court in the *Dogana* kept for that purpose. There it is cryed by the Officer, that such, and such an Inne, paide these last three yeeres, so many Duckets to the Prince, who biddeth more? There is a candle set vp light, and while that lasteth, it is lawfull to lone and bid for the same, and he that biddeth most shall haue it. Wherein this one thing may seeme more strange, then that which hath beene already enformed concerning a mans Corne, that in some cases he cannot make his prouision of his owne: for heere if another will giue more for the Inne then I, though the house be mine owne, he shall haue it, paying mee onely my rent, and I shall bee forced to seeke another. I haue onely this priuiledge about another, that I offering as much as he, I shall be first serued. The Inne-keeper of *Pisa*, where lie our English Marchants, auowed this to be most true; he paieth for these three yeeres forty Duckets. His Highnes hath also vpon all things sold in shops, a *Matricula* (as they call it) which is not to be paid euery yeere, but onely once, when the shop-keeper setteth vp; which in some shoppes commeth at least to a hundred duckets. One that selleth stockings, trusses, shirts, sockes, and such trash, told mee, that at his first beginning hee paid his *Matricula* for Wollen cloth, twenty *Florens*; for Linnen cloath as much, and for Buttons, Silke, and Threed, as much, which in all commeth to thirty gold crownes, to couclude this point, there is not that trade, nor that man or woman whatsoeuer, but of them this Prince hath his Tribute, more or lesse, not so much but the poore feely widow, which the whole yeere Spinneth, payeth seuentene Solls, that is about eight-pence Sterling.

Matricula.

Lazaretto

I haue not heard of any that are free but the *Lazaretto*, or Hospitall, and the begger that goeth from dore to doore only; for

for (which hath partly beene said) there is not that poore Asses burden of dung that goeth out the gates, nor that Radish roote that commeth in, that payeth not his *Gabell*; except they haue the cunning to deceiue them that keep the gates, men whose eyes will pierce what *Valigia* or basket focuer: and if it chance they be detected, they loose the thing hidden without redemption. I saw a poore *Contadina* Countriewoman, who coming to the gate to pay her tolle for a Basket of Lettice shee brought in: one of the Foxes, who I thinke could smel a goose, for he could not possibly see any, searched vnder the hearbes, and finding one dead without feathers, sent the poore woman away halfe dead for sorrow, without her goose. And they told me, that if a Gentleman of *Siena* should come out at *Florence* gates, with a chaine of Gold new bought about his necke, howbeit worne betweene his doubler and Ierkin, that it might not be scene to saue the *Gabell*, that being discouered he should not loose his chaine onely, but his horse also.

Concerning all the taxes and impositions, certaine it is, that they which rate the greate Dukes *Entrate* at eleuen hundred thousand Duckets, comprehend onely such as are ordinarie & certaine, but of the rest which stand on casuallie, and are vncertaine they cannot determine. And sure I am of this, that besides many particulars heere remembred, as also the Rents and Reuenues of his proper lands belonging by many descents to him, of others not accounted in this valuation of his yearly *Entrate*, there is yet one thing behinde vntouched or thought of by others, which will appeare no small matter, and is this.

Impositiōs
and Taxes
ordinarie.
Casuallie.

In euery Citie and towne corporate (as I may say) in *Tuscany* *Cōmunita*. there was before their subiection to the family *Medici* a *Cōmunità* that is, an *Entrate* in cōmon of the Citie, by which all publick charges were defrayed, all officers maintained, and manie other good and charitable workes performed. This *Entrate* arose vpon the Tenths and Tithes of euery mans crop or fruites: (for in *Tuscany* the parish Priest hath them not, hee hath onely his offering and Church-rights, with a house and some certaine ground thereto belonging, as yee would say Glebe-land.)

It grew also vpon the bread and flesh, thus; euery file of bread as they terme it, cost a *quattrino* the signing, euery Bullock cost foure *Liuers* the killing, euery Swine two, euery Weather cost two *guigli*. There were also in times past people of charitable disposition, who dying without children made the *Comunità* their heire to their goods and lands, which they call the *Entrate* of the *Ceppo*, that is, the Stock, and is a member of the *Comunità*. Now that which did yearly remaine of the *Entrate*, all charges deducted, was put to the common Treasurie for to helpe in time of dearth or warre, or such like publike necessitie. An example hereof I will take the Towne of *Prato*. Here the *Entrate* of the *Comunità* is twenty sixe thousand Duckets the yeare, the *Entrate* of the *Ceppo* is eight thousand, in all thirtie foure; hereout they allow the *Podesta* one thousand, the Capitaine of the trained Souldiers, six hundred, the Chauncellor five hundred, they allow for a feast euery two moneths among the eight *Pricori* at the choosing of their *Consolationiere* twenty duckets. They allow their Iudge, who is a Doctor of the Ciuil law, five hundred, also the wages of the *Bargello* and *Shirri* (as one would say the Vnder-shiriffe and his Sergeants) the wages of the Trumpetters, the stipend of foure Schoole-masters, the salarie of two Phisitions and two Chirurgions, the keeping of ten Schollers at the Vniuersitie in *Pisa*, also the maintaining of two Hospitals, one of Bastards, the other of sicke aged, and impotent persons, whereof there are in all to the number of three hundred and fiftie: besides the giuing of portions to poore maides that are married from hence, or to young boyes that are put to some occupation, as also the Almes euery Friday of fourteene *Stain* of Corne, two barrells of wine, and one of Vineger giuen to the poorer sort. And lastly that which they giue to the *Poveri Vergognosi*, that is, such householders as are poore and are ashamed to begge, whereof there is consideration had by the foure that are in office for that purpose: These and all other their common charges as trimming of Churches, repairing of Bridges, mending of high wayes, and such like being defrayed, it is certaine, that ther yearly remaineth one fourth part at the least;

Ceppo.

Cap: hpol :

least: which now goeth not to the common treasure, as in times past, but to the great dukes coffers: the like is to bee said of all other places in this Dukedome.

But it is to be obserued, that before this money which resul-
teth of the *Comunità* be carried to *Florence* to the dukes Ex-
chequer, it is put into the *Monte di Pietà* the Bancke of Pitty: Monte di
Pietà.
a place where any poore man may pawne his household stuffe,
or cloathes, or whatsoeuer els is worth money (prouided al-
wayes the gage be worth more then the money) he taketh this
money hee hath for a day and a yeare after fiue in the hundred.
And if at the time hee returne not to redeeme the thing enga-
ged, it is sold by Trumpet, for what can bee gotten where-out
the principall and interest being taken, the poore man shall
haue the rest. So that the great Duke hauing this ouerplus, for
now it is their Prouerbe, *Il Duca è la Comunità* in euery City
and great towne, and the vse besides for the money, which will
amount to a round summe through the whole State (for there
be of these Banckes in euery place) it is to be coniectured, that
his whole *Entrate* is a greater matter then it is ordinarily taken
for, of them who esteeme it at one Million and one hundred
thousand Duckets, I should rather condescend to them, that
rate it at one Million and a halfe.

Concerning his expenses it is harder to guesse at, then his
Entrate those of the Duke *Francesco* were supposed about fiue His expen-
ces.
hundred thousand Duckets; these of this Duke they say bee
much lesse. And as the Duke his brother had diuers Captaines
and men of commaund his Stipendaries, who receiued of him
some three thousand fiue hundred duckets the yeare, some three
thousand, some two, & some lesse, according to their nobilitie,
and the qualitie of the place, wherein they had charge, so is it to
be thought, that the Generall of the foote, the Collonell of his
horse, the generall of his Galleis, and other inferiour Comman-
ders, who vpon occasion are bound to serue him in their pla-
ces, are with sufficient pension rewarded, each particulars pen-
sion, how much it is without more certaine information then I
had, I dare not presume to say: choosing rather to be defectiue
in

His expence
on horse.

in a generality, then being too particular to erre.

As for his expence vpon his troope of horse, the Lance hath 7. *Piastras* (1. five shillings 3. pence a peece) a moneth, the light horseman hath three now in the time of peace, in warres a better proportion. The Souldier in all his garrisons hath foure *Piastras* a moneth, the officers proportionate, each in his place to this rate. As for the trained Souldier, he is (in peace) no charge to the Duke, for he findeth himselfe shot, powder, armour, weapon, and all things necessary, and is bound to keepe them in good order; the Captaines and officers of these are paid out of the *Communita*, as hath beene aboue said. The charge of his Galleys allowing (as *Don Antonio Doria* in his discourse how to resist the Turke at Sea doth proportion, that is,) each moneth five hundred gold crownes a Galley, cometh in the halfe yeare, which time they bee commonly at Sea, to the sum of eightene thousand gold crownes. The charge of his Court, as by the number of persons therein aboue enformed, may be collected, cannot be great. I haue heard one of his seruants say, that the Steward is allowed for *Spezierie*, Spicery, fiftene thousand duckets, & that all other charges may treble so much more. As for all officers of Court, but these few before remembred, they feede at their owne tables; His Pages (which are Gentlemens sonnes of the Citty, or other places) in number as I take it fiftene, are at his charges kept at Schoole & at dyet in the Citty: His *Staffieri* or Footemen are allowed six *Piastras* the moneth, they are about thirty. His garde of *Swisses* haue foure *Piastras* the moneth; both these and they feede at their own charge, or sojourne at some place, for they haue no allowance out of the dukes kitchin, not so much but the Cookes as I haue heard, hauing done their office, go to their onn houses to meat. A builder this duke is not but at *Liorno*, where indeed is very great cost bestowed, and very many daily working: howbeit considering the labour of his Galley-slaues, which all the winter are there imploied, and of many poore men in the countrey, which vpon light faults are thither confined, whose labour he hath paying nothing, it may appeare the charge is not halfe so much as it would

would cost another. There are also to be considered these expenses which they call *spese segrette*, secret charges, & no doubt are very great, for that this Prince maketh his way to many effects of much importance by money; as namely in the Court of *Rome*, where although the Pope that now is, was chosen without the good will, or rather quite against the desire of this Prince, & although the family *Aldobrandini* was alwaies an empeacher of the *Medicis* greatnes, & though likewise the father of this Prince executed the father of this Pope; and albeit lastly this Pope desireth nothing more, then that by his meanes his native countrey might recouer her former liberty; yet notwithstanding so strong is this Princes faction in that Colledge, and so many his friends, by meanes of his money, as he resteth secured from any such danger. The like intelligence it is said he hath in the *Spanish* court by presents and pensions to the *Infanta*, and others of the Counsel, so as by his money he is able to diuert what purposes soeuer. He hath also at his maintenance secret espials in *Florence* for his better security, as not yet forgetting the Treason of *Pucci* in his brothers daies.

Concerning his Coines, there is the gold crowne of eight *Livers*; the Ducket of siluer seauen *Livers* (which is there called a *Piastra*, and so much must you value the ducket in all this discourse; the halfe Ducket, the Testone, two *Livers*; the *Liver* one *Giulio* and a halfe; the *Giulio* which is sixe-pence sterling; the halfe *Giulio*; all these are of siluer. The *Crazia* of Brasse, with a surface of siluer, the value three-farthings sterling; And lastly the *quattrino*, which is the fift part of a *Crazia*: there was also in times past the *denaro*, the fourth part of a *quattrino*, wher of one hundred & three-score were sixepence sterling, but now there are few of them to be seene, none to be paide. They of the countrey wil complaine, that now they haue none but *Moneta grossa*, great money: It was a good world say they, when wee might haue chaged a *quattrino* into 4. *denari* & with these haue bought herbes, vineger, oile, & Salt, the 4. substantiall parts of a sallet, & this is the better part of an *Italian* dinner; wheras now it wil cost the so many *quattrini*: a great alteration, a grosse sum.

Coynes.

His absolute rule.

As touching the manage of matters of state, the administration of Iustice, and the disposing of offices, true it is that the great Duke, though all matters do absolutely and plenarily depend vpon his will and pleasure, yet notwithstanding hee will for the most part haue the iudgment and counsaile of the Archbishop of *Pisa*, a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince; next vnto him he hath other his Courtiers, to whom sometimes hee will communicate some causes, but neither all, nor alwayes: which causeth the Prince to be more absolute, procureth his Counsels a more secret proceeding, giueth his actions a more speedy dispatch, and peraduenture also a more happy issue: so that it cannot properly be said of his Court, that there is a Counsell of state, but that euery thing immediatly hath his motiue, processe, and ending of the Princes will and pleasure.

Administration of Iustice.

Concerning the administration of Iustice, and election of officers, it differeth not much from the auncient custome of that Cittie when it was free, the diuers Magistrates and the manner of new choosing them is them is this.

The Magistrates.

There is in the City of *Florence* the *Gran Consiglio*, the Seminary, as it were out of which all other Magistrates are chosen. Of these some are elected by the great Duke himselfe, as the *Quaranti Otto* of the chiefe Citizens, and such in whom his Highnes most affieth. Of which number there must alwaies be one at the least in any other of importance. But the Liuerenant of the City, and the *Sei Consiglieri* must be all out of these fortie eight, and these also chosen by the Duke, as likewise the *Dodici di Collegion*. Other Officers are chosen by Ballot, as the *Commissari*, the *Proveditori*, the *Capitani*, *Vicari* *Podestà*, and diuers others. For all they that haue office and place of cominand throughout this state of *Florence*, are Gentlemen of that Citie, as they of the other are all Gentlemen of *Siena*.

Gl'otto di Guardia.

There is also in *Florence*, the *Gl Otto di guardia e balia*, an office of great authority, for these onely giue sentence of life and death, & iudge in criminall causes, these haue there place only foure

four moneths. In this office the Prince hath alwayes a Secretarie a *Beneplacito* his name now in place, is *Buoninsegni*, who euer goeth to his Highnesse to enforme him of the matters in the Court; before they be by the *Otto* determind, and this office hath intelligence of all matters in all criminall Courts in the state, by whom the Courts haue directions from the Prince before they proceed, to the iudgement or execution of the malefactor.

Buonin-
segni a Se-
cretarie.

An instance of this we had this Ianuarie last past, which I the rather remember to make knowne, what care his Highnes hath to giue our Countrie good satisfaction, of whom all English Gentlemen receiue very gracious fauors, as to be admitted to the presence at any *Uglia*, Reuels, or other time of extraordinary sight, also to haue the priuiledge to weare Armes, and other such like. An English Gentleman was by a base groome of the house where he lodged, throwne into the *Arno*, for the monie he was supposed to haue in his lodging; the offender vpon suspition being apprehended, and receiuing the *Sirappado* diuers times, and in the highest degree, notwithstanding persisted obstinately in the deniall. The Law is there that except he confesse the fact he cannot be executed, how pregnant soeuer the presumption be against him; insomuch it was thought hee should haue beene ditcharged: whereupon the Court sent to his Highnesse for direction; hee returned them order to vse all manner of torments which possibly, or in any cases that Court could inflict, and if yet he would not confesse to torture him till he died. According to this commission they gaue him the *Sueglia* a kinde of torture, where hauing receiued a drinke to procure sleepe, the Tortures euer when hee noddeth whip him with small plummets, he sitteth bare vpon an Yron like the backe of a knife, and hot Bricks vnder his feete to burne him if he would ease himselfe that way. It is reported hee endured this also, til they came to giue him *L' Arco* the Bowe; at which hee confessed. This done hee is carried before the Court, there freely to say, whether he confessed for feare of torment, or that it is the verie truth he said: if he auow it, they proceed to iudg-

The dukes
kind re-
spect of the
English.

K

ment,

ment, if otherwise, he, is returned to the torture; for this is the onely way to proceed as is before said, how apparent soeuer the matter be, vnlesse it be proued by two witnesses. As for witness, it is there hard to bee had, being holden a dishonourable thing to bee a witness, or an enformer, a *Spia* as they terme it. In so much as if an offence bee committed in the streets in the view of diuers Gentlemen, though they were not of the action, no nor of the company, notwithstanding they shall haue the *Strappado* to confesse the matter, which rather then doe, they will suffer. So that to haue the *Strappado*, in *Florence* is no disparagement, except the cause make it so. But to returne to this matter, which I haue of purpose remembred, to make it appeare how these Courts euen in small matters receiue directions from the Prince. After this fellow had auouched to the Court that he did the fact, they sent againe to his Highnesse to know how they should proceed. He returned, that the malefactor should loose his right hand at the doore, where was the Gentlemans lodging, and from thence to be drawne to the place of Execution, there to be hanged and quartered, which was accordingly performed.

Other of-
ficers.

To discourse thus at large of each other officer and Court in this Citie of *Florence*, would bee ouer tedious: I will therefore onely name the rest, or at least with one word or two passe the ouer. There is the office of the *Proconsolo*. The six *Capitani delle parti*. The six *Vffiziali de Monti*; the *Vffizio delle Prestanze*, *Lino*, an office of great authoritie, without whose especial licence, no man may arrest or commence sute against a Courtier or a Souldier, or a stranger. There are the *Otto Cōseruatori delle leggi*. There be the six *Giudici della Ruota*, which iudge in all causes ciuill, these onely may not be *Florentines*. Also *Lisfei della Mercantia*, before whom come all matters of paying or receiuing of debts, these onely haue authoritie to commit to prison for debt. There be also the *Maestri della zecca*, Mint-masters, *La Banca de Pagatori*, these pay at Courtiers, souldiers, & other *Prouisionati* & seruants of his highnes. Furthermore, the *Vffizio d'Onesta*. These haue authoritie ouer all actions & pleas of con-
trouerſie

trouersie arising in the *Burdello*: heere the whore shall haue remedie against her customer that denieth payment of the price agreed vpon, and if he alleage her vnworthinesse, she shall bee searched, and according as the Court findeth, sentence shall be giuen: with much other such stuffe, which better becometh that Court, then this discourse to treat of. The office *de Pupilli*; the office *di Cambio*; the offices *della farina, del sale, della grascia, dell'abondanza, delle decime*, & many such other, besides the offices of the seuen companies, the *Doganieri* in the Custome house; the *Gabellieri* at the gates; the *Buon' huomini dello stinco*, to prouide for Prisoners; the *Buon' huomini di san Martino*, to prouide for the poore, and infinite such other inferiour offices

Concerning all these offices abouesaid me thinks that some of them may fitly be called officers of the Crowne, because they be appointed by the Prince in all chiefe Townes of his state, to gouerne and to looke into the counsels and actions of others, as hauing places in them, but no voices. These hold their office for a yeare, and then are either vtterly discharged, or else remoued to some other. Such officers of the Crowne we may call the gouernour of *Signa*, the Commissary of *Pisa* and *Pistoia*, the *Podesta* of other places.

Officers of
the crowne.

As for all other officers, they may well be called of the body politike, because they retaine the same number, order, and proceedings (with some little difference already touched) which they did when it was a free State. Thus doth the great Duke serueth himselfe of persons to administer Iustice, and to commad vnder him with names such as in former times they had, that by this small shadow of Ancient liberty, in some sort he might satisfie the ambitious humor of the citizens, which desire to bee in authority, and also pleasure them with profit & gaine, which by these honours and publike offices they doe make.

Officers of
the bodie
politique.

Concerning their law, it is emperiall, intermingled notwithstanding with some exceptions and *prauiso*es Municipall. As touching their punishments which be either crumenall or criminall, of the purse or of the person, they haue partly bin remembred already: there bee also others as of condemnation to the gallies, of confining, of banditing and such like: but omitting

The Law.

what else herein might be said, I will end this discourse with a word or two of the last branch of this relation, namely of the people themselves.

The people.

The consideration of the ciuill fashion and honourable carriage of the Nobler and better sort of *Tuscanes*, & of the sauage and Gotish behauiour and insolence of the Peasant, makes mee of opinion with *Lipsius*, that those are of the race of Ancient *Romaines*, retaining still a relish of their vertue from whom they are deriued: and that these are descended from the barbarous *Goths* & *Cymbrians* (who sometimes swarmed in *Italy*) hauing still the taint of their inhumanitie. True it is, that this iudgment holdeth generally more in the Peasant then the Nobilitie, for that we find these more to decline from vertue, then those to swarue from the vices of their Progenitors. And to proue that this is true, I will without any further censuring referre you to the report of an *Italian*, who being their Countreman should know them better, or at least (I am sure, be more partial. *Boterus* in his

His nature

vnliuerfall Relations, speaking of the *Florentines* saith they bee, *Parebi, ritirati, poco amici da forastieri, tenaci del denaro, prouidi dell' auenire, cupi, cogitabondi, d' animo sempre rivolto all' interesse, intenti al guadagno*: and in an other place hee giueth them *Sottigliezza d' ingegno parsimonia, accortezza, diligenza, attitudine all' arti unprocedere per apunto, vn star sul vantagio, vn non trascurare cosa alcuna*: that is; they be niggards, they liue to themselves, they loue no strangers, they are close-fisted, they haue an eye to the backe doore, they are hard to be sounded, they are euer biting the lip, their mind euer on their pennie, their study still how to gaine. Also, they are men of a shrewd wit, of a spare dyet, of a warie and discreet carriage, very industrious, very apt to learne, they proceede for an inch, they stand vpon the advantage, they will not loose the droppings of their nose. This writer hath gotten (and worthily) for many his ouersights in that Booke, the imputation of a notable liar, and for his egregious partialities on the *Spanish* side, the note of a notorious flatterer. But sure had the rest of his Booke beene able in the Ballance of truth to haue holden counterpeasable to this iudiciall

ciall report of the *Florentines*, he had well deserued the Passport of *Scene* and allowed. *Cum Privilegio*.

And yet by his leaue I cannot beleeeue without some good reason, that the *Florentine* generally hath such a perilous wit, & His witte, such a subtile conceit, I would sooner subscribe he had a subtile dyet: for as hath before beene said, I am of that *French-mans* minde, that could not finde where that great wit of theirs lay, whatsoeuer either by *Maccianel* his report in his historie, or in his person may to the contrary be alleadged. I haue heard of some *English* Gentlemen, whose abode hath beene there longer, and therefore their experience greater, & meanes also very good to entertaine conuersation, that the *Florentine* will be very affable and ready to obserue vs with all possible complement so long as we will consort him to the *Bardello*, & giue his loose and lasciuious discourse the hearing, which is euer of his Mistresse, if not of a worse theme: But if at any time we offer the occasion of any better talke, and would discourse with him about some matter of pollicy, or history or Art or such like, he straight shakes vs off with a shug of the shoulder, *allum est, seilicet*, we haue lost our companion: in this onely wise that he will not talke because he cannot. For who will thinke that this people which doe all things, *alla mostra*, and speakes alwaies *alla grande* (witness their great houses and small furniture of the one, their great words and small matter of the other) would be squeamish of their knowledge, if they had it, that haue such *quintessence* of termes to grace it? Indeepe I verily thinke, that when the *Florentine* was Lord and Parrone of *Pisa*, *Pistoia*, *Valterra*, *Arezzo*, and those other Cities, that then he had wit. But now I see not why we should not say of him, as we vse to doe of young vnthrifts, that were left rich, and haue foolishly spent or lost it (*They were well, if they had had wit to keepe it*) I dare say that if *Maccianel* were againe liuing, and should see them, that were wont to rule a state, now not to bring a few Lettice from their *Villa*, but at the gate to tole for them, he would vn say that which hee had formerly said, and swear they had no witte. I would not haue said thus much, but that their writers wil needs

all of them put the (witte) vpon them, and they forsooth will needes take it. As though witte were confined to *Florence*, and bandited from all other Cities. Let it be concluded of *Florence* as of all other places (without this singularity) that there be some wise men, but more fooles, and so I will leaue them.

His aptnes

As for their aptnesse to learne, whereof this author speaketh if he meane mechanicall Arts, it is not seene in their shoppes where ye shall almost haue nothing handsomly done, except workes in cloath of gold and siluer. And as for their liberall Sciences, it is not seene in their Schooles, where in one Vniuersitie ye shall scarce finde two that are good *Grecians*, without the which tongue, they hold in our Schooles in *England* a man neuer deserueth the reputation of learned. Indeed it cannot bee denied, that in two faculties this towne hath had famous men in Painting and Poetry: and I verily thinke that heerein *Italy* generally excelleth. And no maruell, when all their time is spent in Amours, and al their Churches deckt with colours.

His cour-
tesie.

Their nature (he saith) is close and retired, but sure it is that after some small acquaintance (especially if hee hope to gaine any thing by you) his manner is to offer you all possible courtesies, his house, his seruantes, himselfe and what not, hee will proffer you his lewell, or any thing which liketh you, and euer importune you to dine with him, with all ceremony and complement; (for heere they grow) marry he holds it for the greatest discourtesie in the world, and a *mala creanza ille*, maners to accept any his offers, it is not the fashion of *Tuscan*: for were this custome of taking once vp, the complement of offering would soone downe.

His indu-
strie.

What else, *Boterus* saith I hold most true, either of the *Florentines* industry & greedy gayning, or of his parsimony & thin feeding. Especially at his owne table, or at his Inne, where he paieth according to his feeding; but let him come to another mans table, or to a certaine Ordinary, and he will hold the last vle with the tallest Trencher-man of all *Media*. Of whom one may rightly say, as the Poet speakes of the harlot in the

His dyet.

Come.

Comedy: 'at their own borde, *Nibil videtur mundius, nec magis compositum quicquam nec magis elegans*, but at anothers cost ye shall note, *illorum ingluviem, sordes, inediam*. Though concerning the place it is quite contrary, for the harlots do *pitissare* abroad, and *deuorare* at home.

Astouching their apparell, it is both ciuill, because blacke, Apparell, and comely because fitted to the body.

For their names, they be those of the old *Romaines* onely Names, altered with an Italian pronounciation and determination.

Concerning their language, it is the best of *Italy*. As for those Language. vngratefull *Tuscans*, that in no case will acknowledge to bee beholden to the *Latines*, but will either haue it a mother tong, of it selfe, or at the least the daughter of the *Caldæan* tongue, for that it hath the *Afixa*, as *mo, te, se, ne, ve*, and such like very agreeable with that other language, I dare not giue them credit: for if it were plumed of the *Romans* feathers, I thinke it would be but a naked language. True it is, that from the *French* and *Dutch* tongues it borroweth much, and somewhat from the *Greekes*. As *abbassare, alloggiare, auanzare, cominciare, donna, gagliardo*; and infinite other from the *French*, *Arnese, becco, bramo, brindisi, elmo, fiasce, fresce, giallo*; and many moe from the *Dutch*. They haue also from the *Greekes*, as *Batezza, cattedra, catarro, golfo, gamba, mottegio, rimbomba, rio, &c.* So that if the *Gotbe* and *Vandall* had also theirs, I thinke this *Tuscane* tongue would be left nothing but her quaint *diminutives*, wherein consisteth her onely grace; as of *Pouero* the plaine song, she runnes a descant of *Pouerone, Ponerino, Poneretto, and Pueraccio*, and so almost of any word whatsoever. This Language also challengeth to haue a singular grace in her vocall terminations, as in such words as these, *Rinfrescatoio, Temperatoio, Cuoio, Asciugatoio*, and such like; which they of *Tuscany* say, are of a more sweet desinence then any of the *Latine*, and so I thinke; howbeit they must needs acknowledge the borrowing of this elegancie from one of the *Greeke* dialects, for what can bee more like to *μυζαλοῦ, δροῦ* and *ἀμλοῦ* *αὐδρηπιοῦ*.

Different
speech.

As for the difference of speech among the *Tuscanes*, I thinke it be as great, as was euer the difference of mindes among the *Italians*, and hath as many factions: for as we had in times past the factions *Sassadelli* and *Vaini* in *Imola*: the *Cerchi* and *Donati* in *Florence*: the *Bianchi* and *Neri* in *Pistoia*: the *Fregosi* and *Adorati* in *Genoa*: the *Lambartazzi* and *Gerenei* in *Bologna*: the *Colonna* and *Orsini* in *Rome*: the *Imperials* and the *French* in al: So haue yee at this day one language of the *Florentine*, another of the *Sanese*, the third of the *Lucehese* and the fourth of the *Pisan*, but the worst of the *Pestolese*. Yea and in *Florence* it selfe the language hath now a faction *Gulphe* and *Ghibelline*. Howbeit of these diuersities it is generally held, that the *Florentine* hath the best words, but his pronounciation is somewhat too guttural; and that the *Sanese* hath the best pronounciation, but his words relish too much of the *Latine*: for so saith their proverbe; *Fauella Florentina in bocca Sanese*: So that, hee that shall haue the termes of the one, and the accent of the other, *Omne tulerit punctum*, shall hit the marke.

His cu-
stomes.
His ieal-
ousie ouer
his wife.

It remaineth I speake of their customes differing from ours; The husband (for the most part) when he goeth abroad, locketh vp his wife (not because he is iealous, (he protects) but because it is the custome.) The Tutor is abused by the Scholler with al odious misdemeanour, yet dare he not correct him least his father should braue him: I know not two worse estates in *Italy*: then that of a faire wife, and this of a teacher; the one is euer a prisoner, the other alwaies a slaue, the one no better then a Birde in a Cage, the other no better then *Geta* in the *Scene*.

His indul-
gence o-
uer his
childe.

His valour

Concerning quarrels they are carried thus: the party wronged (if not in some high degree) will challenge the other to fight. if they be both provided it is presently vnder taken, otherwise it is deferred till the next day, or some such short date: the place appointed is commonly in the Citie, and in the chiefest streete: here they encounter with a good Scull vnder their hattes, a large Maile to their knee vnder their apparell, besides their Gauntlet; so that if they had a *Supersedeas* for their face, and

and would doe as the boyes doe in *England* (barre striking at shinnes) or as the Schollers of *Padoa*, who haue plates for this purpose: no doubt but *Dametis* and *Clinias* might thus make a tal fray. I saw two gallants in *Pisa* fight thus completely provided, where after a very furious encounter, and a most mercilesse shredding and slashing of their apparrell, with a most desperate resolution to cut one another out of his clothes; They were (to the sauing of many a stitch) parted, and by mediation with much adoe made friends.

But if it be a wrong whereof he purposeth a reuenge, he will H reu'ge waite an oportunitie seauen yeares, but he will take you at the aduantage, or else doe it by some others, whom he will hire for the purpose. In this sort were two slaine in *Pisa*, while I was there, the one a rich Marchant, the other a Knight of the Order, the one comming from his whore, the other going thither. Two also in *Siena* in seauen dayes. And at my comming hither to *Venice*, (for this is generall through all *Italie*) there were on Shroue-sunday at night seauenteene slaine, and very many wounded: besides that they there reported, there was almost euery night one slaine, all that *Carnenale* time. The occasion of most these quarrels and mischiefes arise from the *Burdello*. This is also to bee obserued, that the party wounded, whereof perhaps in few dayes he dyeth, will neuer discover by whom he was hurt, except to his Confessor, though he know him very well: neither will the brother or sonne of him slaine, take any acknowledgement of the dooer, though by circumstance and presumptions they be very sure thereof, but rather awaite the good houre to crie quittance.

Concerning the wooing & winning of his Mistresse fauour, His wooing (I meane as our *English* phrase is, in the way of marriage) hee must (as the Poet saith, *Extrema linea amare*) loue faire and farre off: he may sollicite his cause with passionate Letters, or amorous glances, before her windowe, or at the Church, (the onely place where such matters are managed) but other either time, or place, or meanes, he hath not which are ordinary; Inso-much as many times the match is made before he know cyther how

year and the husband
 my self

how the humour of her braine, or vapour of her stomacke will be pleasing to his senses of hearing and smelling, which may be one chiefe cause why so many husbands dislike, and of their straying to forbidden fruite.

I should take the course in this Relation, which many husbands doe in their wishes, that is, presently after marrying to talke of burying; which also differeth much from ours in *England*; but if I should speake thereof being a Church action, I should also speake of other Church matters, whereof I purposely omitt to speake; as also of all other their manners and customes common with other people of *Italy*.

I will therefore knit vp this little Treatise of this great Duchie, with this abrupt period, namely: That this people liues much discontented, as appeareth by their daily and great, (but Priuate) complaining: hauing fresh in their mindes their former libertie, and heauie on their backes their present yoake. That this State is like a body which hath lately taken Phisicke, whose humours are not yet well setled, or as a stomack weakened so much by purging, as there is now nothing left but melancholy. Concluding of this people, as of a person that liues alwayes vnder the hands of a Phisition,

*Qui sub Medicis vinit, misere
vinit*

FINIS.

